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CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
VOL. IV.



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CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION;
BEING
LETTERS OF EMINENT MEN
TO
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
FROM
THE TIME OF HIS TAKING COMMAND OF THE ARMY
TO
THE END OF HIS PRESIDENCY.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS
By JARED SPARKS.

VOLUME IV.

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CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Philadelphia, 12 March, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

The Washington packet arrived this morning. I have not yet had leisure to read all my letters; but as an express is ready to go early to-morrow, I rather choose to rely upon your goodness to excuse a letter written in extreme haste, than to hold myself inexcusable, by not informing you of what we yet know of the state of our negotiations. None of my letters is of a later date than the 25th of December. All difficulties had then been removed with respect to us, and the preliminaries were signed; they consist of nine articles.

The *first* acknowledges our independence.

The *second* describes our boundaries, which are as extensive as we could wish.

The *third* ascertains our rights as to the fishery, and puts them upon the same footing that they were before the war.

The *fourth* provides that all British debts shall be paid.

The *fifth* and *sixth* are inclosed for your perusal, as they are likely to be the least satisfactory here.*

The *seventh* stipulates that hostilities shall immediately cease, and that the British troops be withdrawn, without carrying off any property, or dismantling fortifications; that records and archives shall be restored.

The *eighth* stipulates that the navigation of the Mississippi shall be open to us and Great Britain.

The *ninth*, that all conquests, made in America after the ratification, shall be restored.

These preliminaries are only provisional upon the determination of a peace with France, whose negotiations have not made such progress as ours. I believe they find themselves very much embarrassed by the demands of their other allies.

The Count de Vergennes, in a letter of the 25th of December, says, "I cannot foresee the issue, for difficulties arise from the disposition we have shown to remove them. It would be well, Sir, to prepare Congress for every event. I do not despair; I rather hope; but all is yet uncertain."

But, Sir, whatever the event of the negotiations may be, I persuade myself the enemy will leave these States. Mr. Oswald has made some propositions to our Ministers upon this subject, proposing that they might be permitted to embark without molestation, and endeavour to recover West Florida from the Spaniards. This last communication, which you will consider as confidential, I thought might be important to your Excellency. By attending to their conduct, you will be able to judge if they mean to pur-

* Relating to the restoration of confiscated estates, and the prosecutions for past crimes.

sue this system, or if it was only thrown out to deceive.

I inclose also, for your perusal, extracts from the Addresses, not having time to have them copied at large. They are mere echoes to the speech. Supplies were voted without one dissenting voice.

I must pray your Excellency to send on the inclosed packets. Any expense it occasions, will be paid by the Governor.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Charleston, 16 March, 1783.

SIR,

I have been honored with your Excellency's despatches of the 18th of December and 29th of January. I am made happy by your full approbation of my conduct, and the army under my command, during the southern operations. The evacuation of Charleston, and the proposals of peace, are matters highly interesting to this country, whose finances and political arrangements are in the most deplorable situation. Charleston remains without a platform, or a single cannon for its defence. The subsistence of the troops, for some time after the evacuation of this place, depended on military collections; but, happily, we have made a contract for their future subsistence. On this subject I should feel easy, but for the critical situation the Financier writes me his department is circumstanced.

The States have rejected the five per cent. duty act generally, and few pay any thing into the Con-

tinental Treasury any other way. I wrote a letter to this State on the subject, a few days past, stating some facts respecting the discontents prevailing in the Northern army respecting pay, and what might be expected in this to the southward. I thought it my duty to warn the State of what I apprehended. The impost act was rejected, notwithstanding, and the Assembly offended. I will ever speak my sentiments, and act with candor. I wish to know the nature and extent of the discontent prevailing in the northern troops. Matters are represented here in dark colors. The report spreads among our troops, and threatens a convulsion. I shall give you the best information on the subject in my power; but these things often come to a crisis from accident and indiscretion, before one expects it. I could wish to be fully informed respecting the temper of the Northern army; it would enable me to counteract many aggravations here.

I have communicated to the Assembly your orders for marching the troops to the northward; but I am much at a loss how to act in the matter. Your Excellency seems to leave a latitude of discretion respecting the tranquillity of these States; but your comment upon a desultory and predatory war, appears to be intended to limit my discretionary powers to matters of serious invasion. We have none at present, and yet there are parties continually making inroads upon different sides of both Georgia and South Carolina, from St. Augustine.

If I put the troops in motion, as you mention, it leaves the Southern States a prey to every invader. A small force, in their present distracted state, would overrun the country, and Charleston may be repossessed, at any time, by a few frigates, with a regi-

ment or two of infantry. I would wish to follow your intention. If I could conceive you had a clear idea of the weakness and distress of this country, the troops should march immediately; but the prospects of peace, and the possibility of New York being evacuated, if the war should continue, induce me to wait until the arrival of the next despatches. In the mean time, I shall have every preparation made for their marching as soon as may be. The men are well clothed, and pretty well disciplined. Some few days before the arrival of your last letter, from an appearance of an invasion upon Georgia, I put the Virginia troops in motion for the protection of that quarter; and, as their numbers are small, and will be of little consequence in the siege, I shall not march them until your further orders.

The people of this State are much prejudiced against Congress and the Financier. Those who came from the northward think they have been amazingly neglected by both in their distresses. Their general disposition leads more to an independence of Congressional connection, than I could wish, or is for their peace or welfare. This State has contributed more than any other State, it is true, towards the Continental expenses; but necessity obliged them. I wish all the States could see how much the tranquillity of each depended upon giving effectual support to Congress. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 17 March, 1783.

SIR,

I am duly honored with your Excellency's letters of the 4th and 12th instant. It is much to be regretted, though not to be wondered at, that steps of so inflammable a tendency have been taken in the army. Your Excellency, in my opinion, has acted wisely. The best way is ever, not to attempt to stem the torrent, but to direct it. I am happy to find you coincide in opinion with me on the conduct proper to be observed by yourself. I am persuaded, more and more, it is that which is most consistent with your own reputation and the public welfare.

Our affairs wear a most serious aspect, as well foreign as domestic. Before this gets to hand, your Excellency will probably have seen the Provisional Articles between Great Britain and these States.

It might, at first appearance, be concluded that they will be the prelude to a general peace. But there are strong reasons to doubt the truth of such a conclusion. Obstacles may arise from different quarters; from the demands of Spain and Holland; from the hope in France of greater acquisitions in the East; perhaps still more probably from the insincerity and duplicity of Lord Shelburne, whose politics, founded in the peculiarity of his situation, as well as in the character of the man, may well be suspected of insidiousness. I am really apprehensive, if peace does not take place, that the negotiations will tend to sow distrusts among the allies, and weaken the force of the Common League. We have, I fear, men among us, and men in trust, who have a hankering after

British connection. We have others, whose confidence in France savors of credulity. The intrigues of the former, and the incautiousness of the latter, may be both, though in different degrees, injurious to American interests, and make it difficult for prudent men to steer a proper course.

There are delicate circumstances with respect to the late foreign transactions, which I am not at liberty to reveal, but which, joined to our internal weaknesses, disorders, follies and prejudices, make this country stand upon precarious ground. Some use may be made of these ideas, to induce moderation in the army. An opinion that the country does not stand upon a secure footing, will operate upon the patriotism of the officers against hazarding any domestic commotions.

While I make these observations, I cannot forbear adding that, if no excesses take place, I shall not be sorry that ill humors have appeared. I shall not regret *importunity*, if temperate, from the army.

There are good intentions in the majority of Congress, but there is not sufficient wisdom or decision. There are dangerous prejudices, in the particular States, opposed to those measures which alone can give stability and prosperity to the Union. There is a fatal opposition to Continental views. Necessity alone can work a reform. But how produce this necessity; how apply it; how keep it within salutary bounds? I fear we have been contending for a shadow.

The affair of accounts I considered as having been put on a satisfactory footing. The particular States have been required to settle till the 1st of August, 1780; and the Superintendent of Finance has been directed to take measures for settling since that period. I shall immediately see him on the subject.

We have had eight and a half States in favor of a commutation of half-pay for an average of ten years' purchase; that is, five years full pay, instead of half-pay for life, which, on a calculation of annuities, is nearly an equivalent. I hope this will now shortly take place. We have made considerable progress in a plan, to be recommended to the several States, for funding all the public debts, including those of the army; which is certainly the only way to restore further credit, and enable us to continue the war by borrowing abroad, if it should be necessary to continue it.

I omitted mentioning to your Excellency, that, from European intelligence, there is great reason to believe, at all events, peace or war, New York will be vacated in the spring. It will be a pity if any domestic disturbances should change the plans of the British Court. I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. Your Excellency mentions, that it has been surmised the plan in agitation was formed in Philadelphia; that combinations have been talked of between the public creditors and the army; and that members of Congress had encouraged the idea. This is partly true. I have myself urged on Congress the propriety of uniting the influence of the public creditors, and the army as a part of them, to prevail upon the States to enter into their views. I have expressed the same sentiments out of doors. Several other members have done the same. The meaning, however, of all this, was simply that Congress should adopt such a plan as would embrace the relief of all

the public creditors, including the army, in order that the personal influence of some, the connections of others, and a sense of justice to the army, as well as the apprehension of ill consequences, might form a mass of influence on each State in favor of the measures of Congress. In this view, as I mentioned to your Excellency in a former letter, I thought the discontents of the army might be turned to a good account. I am still of opinion, that their earnest, but respectful applications for redress will have a good effect.

As to any combination of *force*, it could only be productive of the horrors of a civil war, might end in the ruin of the country, and would certainly end in the ruin of the army.

FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Philadelphia, 24 March, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

You will by this express receive the agreeable intelligence of a general peace, upon which I most sincerely congratulate you and the army. Harmony, a regard for justice, and fidelity to our engagements, are all that now remains to render us a happy people. The vessel that brought these despatches was sent out by the Count d'Estaing to recall the French cruisers. As the Minister tells me he will forward the orders and passports to your Excellency, I will not detain the messenger till I have mine copied. This should, in my opinion, be immediately sent either by Congress or your Excellency to Sir Guy Carleton.

A private letter to me mentions, that the Bahama

Islands are also ceded to the British. Holland seems to have come worst off; and France, by getting little for herself, has laid in a store of reputation, which will be worth more than much territory. I must request your Excellency to send on the inclosed letters by express to the Governor.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

P. S. I have thought proper to send Mr. Lewis Morris to New York, to inform General Carleton of the happy re-union of the powers at war; and also of a resolution of Congress of this day, directing their Agent of Marine to take proper measures to stop all further hostilities by sea.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 25 March, 1783.

SIR,

I wrote to your Excellency a day or two ago by express. Since that, a Committee, appointed on the communications from you, have had a meeting, and find themselves embarrassed. They have requested me to communicate our embarrassments to you in confidence, and to ask your private opinion. The army, by their resolutions, express an expectation that Congress will not disband them previous to a settlement of accounts, and the establishment of funds. Congress may resolve upon the first, but the general opinion is that they cannot constitutionally declare the second. They have no right by the Confederation to *demand* funds; they can only recommend; and

to determine that the army shall be continued in service till the States grant them, would be to determine that the whole present army shall be a standing army during peace, unless the States comply with the requisitions for funds. This, it is supposed, would excite the alarms and jealousies of the States, and increase rather than lessen the opposition to the funding scheme.

It is also observed, that the longer the army is kept together the more the payment of past dues is procrastinated, the abilities of the States being exhausted for their immediate support, and a new debt every day incurred. It is further suggested, that there is danger in keeping the army together in a state of inactivity, and that a separation of the several lines would facilitate the settlement of accounts, diminish present expense, and avoid the danger of union. It is added, that the officers of each line, being on the spot, might, by their own solicitations, and those of their friends, forward the adoption of funds in the different States.

A proposition will be transmitted to you by Colonel Bland, in the form of a resolution to be adopted by Congress, framed upon the principles of the foregoing reasoning. Another proposition is contained in the following resolution;—

“That the Commander-in-chief be informed, it is the intention of Congress to effect the settlement of the accounts of the respective lines, previous to their reduction; and that Congress are doing, and will continue to do, every thing in their power towards procuring satisfactory securities for what shall be found due on such settlement.”

The scope of this, your Excellency will perceive without comment. I am to request you will favor me

with your sentiments on both the propositions, and, in general, with your ideas of what had best be done with reference to the expectation expressed by the officers; taking into view the situation of Congress. On one side, the army expect they will not be disbanded till accounts are settled, and funds established. On the other hand, they have no constitutional power of doing any thing more than to recommend funds; and are persuaded that these will meet with mountains of prejudice in some of the States.

A considerable progress has been made in a plan for funding the public debts; and it is to be hoped it will ere long go forth to the States, with every argument that can give it success. I have the honor to be, with sincere respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 25 March, 1783.

SIR,

The inclosed I write more in a public than in a private capacity. Here I write as a citizen zealous for the true happiness of this country; as a soldier, who feels what is due to an army which has suffered every thing, and done much for the safety of America.

I sincerely wish ingratitude was not so natural to the human heart as it is. I sincerely wish there were no seeds of it in those who direct the counsels of the United States. But while I urge the army to moderation, and advise your Excellency to take

the direction of their discontents, and endeavour to confine them within the bounds of duty, I cannot, as an honest man, conceal from you, that I am afraid their distrust has too much foundation. Republican jealousy has in it a principle of hostility to an army, whatever be their merits, whatever be their claims to the gratitude of the community. It acknowledges their services with unwillingness, and rewards them with reluctance. I see this temper, though smothered with great care, involuntarily breaking out upon too many occasions. I often feel a mortification, which it would be impolitic to express, that sets my passions at variance with my reason. Too many, I perceive, if they could do it with safety or color, would be glad to elude the just pretensions of the army. I hope this is not the prevailing disposition.

But, supposing the country ungrateful, what can the army do? It must submit to its hard fate. To seek redress by its arms, would end in its ruin. The army would moulder by its own weight, and for want of the means of keeping together; the soldiery would abandon their officers; there would be no chance of success, without having recourse to means that would reverse our revolution. I make these observations, not that I imagine your Excellency can want motives to continue your influence in the path of moderation, but merely to show why I cannot myself enter into the views of coercion, which some gentlemen entertain; for, I confess, could force avail, I should almost wish to see it employed. I have an indifferent opinion of the honesty of this country, and ill forebodings as to its future system.

Your Excellency will perceive I have written with sensations of chagrin, and will make allowance for coloring; but the general picture is too true. God

send us all more wisdom! I am, very sincerely and respectfully,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM THEODORIC BLAND, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 25 March, 1783.

SIR,

Many events have lately occurred, which have occasioned me to trouble your Excellency with my correspondence of a private nature. I now take the liberty of writing to you, by desire of a Committee, of which I have the honor to be one, to whom your very interesting despatches to Congress, of the 15th of this month, were committed.

You will, without doubt, have been informed, Sir, and have received with pleasure the intelligence, of the vote for the commutation having passed Congress, the same day on which your Excellency's despatches, containing the truly sensible and patriotic resolutions of the officers of the army, convened by your Excellency's authority, were received. On that happy event I most cordially congratulate you, Sir, and my quondam brother officers. I think it must give the most sensible pleasure to every friend of this country, that an event so interesting should take place at the very moment that a certainty of peace was announced; and that the civil and military, at that critical juncture, should so harmonize on the capital object of their wishes. This event will, I trust, eradicate from the minds of every generous and thinking man in the United States, in whatever station he

may be, every vestige of suspicion, which those of an opposite complexion might have endeavoured to implant.

If my conceptions of the sense of Congress are right, I think I can assure your Excellency, that all those suspicions, which may have been entertained of want of gratitude to the army, or a desire to do them complete and ample justice, are totally groundless. Your Excellency, I hope, knows too well my candor to imagine I would attempt to deceive. If I have built my opinions, on this head, on an erroneous idea of Congress, the moment such error is discovered by me, I shall think myself unpardonable not to disclose it. You will perceive, Sir, by the inclosed rough copies, numbers One and Two, which the Committee have had under their consideration, what is their sense, and, what they have reason to think is the sense of Congress. We have thought it necessary to make to you, Sir, a confidential communication of our sentiments, in hopes that you will favor us with your opinion thereon at large.

Our doubt arises solely from this consideration, namely, — that the enormous expense of keeping the whole army in the field, until their “accounts are liquidated, the balances accurately ascertained, *and funds established for the payment,*” would be productive of the most ruinous consequences to the United States; might occasion clamors among the citizens, embarrass the measures which Congress mean to take, and so affect their finances as to render it impossible to comply with what the army most desire, namely, a punctual discharge of the debt due to them on settlement. Your Excellency will, I think, require no argument to show the force of these observations.

I will say nothing of the effects, which ever have

and ever will arise from keeping a large army in the field, in a state of inactivity, without any other object to employ their minds on, than their past sufferings and present distresses; a relief of which must be inevitably removed to a further distance by the very means they appear to point out to procure it. Although the resolutions of the army, on the address to them by your Excellency, are perfectly explicit, and breathe the most entire confidence in the justice of Congress, and the sincere intentions of that body towards them; yet, lest some latent spark of suspicion, undiscovered by the Convention, should unexpectedly discover itself, and lay hold of an ambiguous expression, or even the silence of Congress on some material point, does not your Excellency conceive an explicit and full declaration of Congress, not only of their intentions to do ample justice, but of the mode by which it is to be done, as far as depends on them, will be proper? Should you, Sir, think proper to offer any amendment to either of the inclosed resolutions, or to start any new idea, that may be thought more effectual than those they contain, you may be assured of their being laid before the Committee in the most confidential manner, and of receiving all possible attention.

Although I write now at the request of the Committee, you will be pleased to consider this communication as not of a public, or official nature, and communicable only to those in whom the most entire confidence is reposed. I need not inform your Excellency of the earnest desire which the Committee have to make their report on this subject as speedily as possible, as you are fully apprised of the necessity of it, rendered, in my opinion, the more necessary, by the great and glorious event, which has been so lately

announced to us of a general peace ; on which occasion, I most cordially and sincerely congratulate your Excellency, with an assurance that peace or war will never change in me the unalterable affection and esteem, with which I am your Excellency's

Most obedient, and most humble servant, .

THEODORIC BLAND.

P. S. You will excuse, Sir, the hasty manner in which this has been written, as a fear of losing the opportunity by the post has deprived me of the power of revising it.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, IN CONGRESS.

11 April, 1783.

SIR,

I have received your Excellency's letters of the 31st of March, and 4th of April ; the last, to-day. The one to Colonel Bland, as member of the Committee, has been read in Committee confidentially, and gave great satisfaction. The idea of not attempting to separate the army before the settlement of accounts, corresponds with my proposition. That of endeavouring to let them have some pay, has also appeared to me indispensable. The expectations of the army, as represented by your Excellency, are moderation itself. To-morrow we confer with the Superintendent of Finance on the subject of money. There will be difficulty ; but not, we hope, insurmountable.

I thank your Excellency for the hints you are so obliging as to give me in your private letter. I do not wonder at the suspicions that have been infused ;

nor should I be surprised to hear that I have been pointed out as one of the persons concerned in playing the game described. But facts must speak for themselves. The gentlemen, who were here from the army, General McDougall, who is still here, will be able to give a true account of those who have supported the just claims of the army, and of those who have endeavoured to elude them.

There are two classes of men, Sir, in Congress, of very different views; one attached to State, the other to Continental politics. The last have been strenuous advocates for funding the public debt upon solid securities; the former have given every opposition in their power, and have only been dragged into the measures, which are now near being adopted, by the clamors of the army and other public creditors. The advocates for Continental funds have blended the interests of the army with other creditors, from a conviction that no funds, for partial purposes, will go through those States to whose citizens the United States are largely indebted; or, if they should be carried through, from impressions of the moment, would have the necessary stability; for the influence of those unprovided for would always militate against a provision for others, in exclusion of them. It is in vain to tell men, who have parted with a large part of their property on the public faith, that the services of the army are entitled to a preference. They would reason from their interest and their feelings. These would tell them, that they had as great a title as any other class of the community to public justice; and that, while this was denied to them, it would be unreasonable to make them bear their part of the burden for the benefit of others. This is the way they would reason; and as their influence in some of the

States was considerable, they would have been able to prevent any partial provision.

But the question was not merely how to do justice to the creditors, but how to restore public credit. Taxation in this country, it was found, could not supply a sixth part of the public necessities. The loans in Europe were far short of the balance, and the prospect every day diminishing; the Court of France telling us, in plain terms, she could not even do as much as she had done; individuals in Holland, and everywhere else, refusing to part with their money, on the precarious tenure of the mere faith of this country, without any pledge for the payment either of principal or interest.

In this situation, what was to be done? It was essential to our cause that vigorous efforts should be made to restore public credit; it was necessary to combine all the motives to this end, that could operate upon different descriptions of persons in the different States. The necessity and discontents of the army presented themselves as a powerful engine.

But, Sir, these gentlemen would be puzzled to support their insinuations by a single fact. It was, indeed, proposed to appropriate the intended impost on trade to the army debt, and, what was extraordinary, by gentlemen who had expressed their dislike to the principle of the fund. I acknowledge I was one that opposed this; for the reasons already assigned, and for these additional ones. *That* was the fund on which we most counted. To obtain further loans in Europe, it was necessary we should have a fund sufficient to pay the interest of what had been borrowed and what was to be borrowed. The truth was, these people, in this instance, wanted to play off the army against the funding system.

As to Mr. Morris, I will give your Excellency a true explanation of his conduct. He had been, for some time, pressing Congress to endeavour to obtain funds, and had found a great backwardness in the business. He found the taxes unproductive in the different States; he found the loans in Europe making a very slow progress; he found himself pressed, on all hands, for supplies; he found himself, in short, reduced to this alternative, either of making engagements which he could not fulfil, or declaring his resignation in case funds were not established by a given time.

Had he followed the first course, the bubble must soon have burst; he must have sacrificed his credit and his character; and public credit, already in a ruined condition, must have lost its last support. He wisely judged it better to resign. This might increase the embarrassments of the moment, but the necessity of the case, it was to be hoped, would produce the proper measures; and he might then resume the direction of the machine with advantage and success. He also had some hope that his resignation would prove a stimulus to Congress.

He was, however, ill-advised in the publication of his letter of resignation. This was an imprudent step, and has given a handle to his personal enemies, who, by playing upon the passions of others, have drawn some well-meaning men into the cry against him. But Mr. Morris certainly deserves a great deal from his country. I believe no man in this country, but himself, could have kept the money machine a-going during the period he has been in office. From every thing that appears, his administration has been upright, as well as able.

The truth is, the old leaven of Deane and Lee is,

at this day, working against Mr. Morris. He happened, in that dispute, to have been on the side of Deane, and certain men can never forgive him. A man, whom I once esteemed, and whom I will rather suppose duped than wicked, is the second actor in this business.

The matter, with respect to the army, which has occasioned most altercation in Congress, and most dissatisfaction in the army, has been the half-pay. The opinions on this head have been two. One party was for referring the several lines to their States, to make commutation as they should think proper; the other, for making the commutation by Congress, and funding it on Continental security. I was of this last opinion, and so were all those who will be represented as having made use of the army as puppets. Our principal reasons were,—first, by referring the lines to their respective States, those who were opposed to the half-pay would have taken advantage of the officers' necessities to make the commutation far short of an equivalent; secondly, the inequality which would have arisen in the different States, when the officers came to compare (as has happened in other cases), would have been a new source of discontent; thirdly, such a reference was a continuance of the old wretched State system, by which the ties between Congress and the army have been nearly dissolved, by which the resources of the States have been diverted from the common treasury, and wasted; a system which your Excellency has often justly reprobated.

I have gone into the details, to give you a just idea of the parties in Congress. I assure you, upon my honor, Sir, I have given you a candid state of facts, to the best of my judgment. The men against whom the suspicions you mention must be directed,

are, in general, the most sensible, the most liberal, the most independent, and the most respectable, characters in our body, as well as the most unequivocal friends to the army. In a word, they are the men who think Continentally. I have the honor to be, with sincere respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. I am Chairman of a Committee for Peace Arrangements. We shall ask your Excellency's opinion at large, on a proper military peace establishment. I will just hint to your Excellency that our prejudices will make us wish to keep up as few troops as possible.

We this moment learn an officer is arrived from Sir Guy Carleton, with despatches; probably, official accounts of peace.

FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Philadelphia, 12 April, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I congratulate your Excellency, most sincerely, upon the cessation of hostilities, which you will learn from the inclosed proclamation. You will doubtless have heard directly from General Carleton on the subject, so that it will not be necessary to trouble you with the substance of his letter to me.

Congress will this day, upon my report, take into consideration the propriety of discharging the prisoners, and the manner in which it is to be done. Sir Guy Carleton presses hard, in his letter, for the execution of the fifth of the Preliminary Articles. I

have replied that it cannot be executed, till the treaty is ratified; and in the mean time endeavoured to convince him that the recommendation of Congress will be received with much more respect, when the persons, who compose our Legislatures, have returned to their respective homes, and the asperities, occasioned by the war, shall be a little worn down by the enjoyment of peace. It is a very capital omission, in our treaty, that no time has been fixed for the evacuation of New York.

It were to be wished that General Carleton's intentions on this head could be sounded by your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, dear Sir, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

FROM THEODORIC BLAND, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 16 April, 1783.

SIR,

I have been honored with your Excellency's two favors of the 31st ultimo and the 4th instant; the latter, accompanied with your full and explicit answer on the subject on which I addressed your Excellency in my last, at the request of the Committee. It has been, according to your desire, communicated to Colonel Hamilton and the other members who compose the Committee, confidentially, and is now under consideration. We have conferred with the Superintendent of Finance, and be assured our utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to bring to a speedy, and, I hope happy conclusion, the objects your Excellency has pointed to with so much clearness, candor, and energy.

Confident I am, that there is every disposition in Congress to appreciate the services and sufferings of the army — unquestionably the most meritorious class of citizens in this long, and, at length, successful contest. I am not less persuaded, in my own mind, that what depends on the States respectively, to put the finishing hand to a complete compensation of their long and meritorious services and sufferings, will be cheerfully complied with. But these, Sir, are the expectations, or opinions, of an individual strongly impressed, and ardently (perhaps too sanguinely) hoping for that desirable event; in which expectation if I am disappointed, I shall, with you, Sir, have to lament the most fatal infatuation and the grossest ingratitude, that ever seized the heads, or corrupted the hearts of a nation and its counsels, towards a body of men to whom they owe their political existence, and all those blessings which every good man wishes to see flow from our Union and independence.

We hope to have the answer to-morrow from the Superintendent of Finance, on the practicability of the measure, which, should it be even in the negative (which I do not expect), I think I can assure your Excellency, such is the interest the Committee take in the welfare of the army, that they will not stop in their endeavours to devise such measures as may, in the end, prove as beneficial and satisfactory as those which your Excellency has thought of, if in their power.

Your Excellency's observations on the necessity of establishing a national character, stamped with the indelible traits of justice, gratitude, and faith, carry with them the irresistible force of conviction, and meet with my most cordial concurrence. Nor have I a doubt that, when the tumult of war has subsided,

this enlightened country, although at present young in politics, will soon discover the importance and truth of your observation, and adopt it as the surest basis on which must be founded the future greatness and prosperity of these rising and important States. It is with infinite pleasure that I think I have observed such ideas succeeding rapidly to those of chicane, which so strongly marked the counsels, as well as manners, of the people at large in the days of paper and depreciation.

From these considerations, I am led to form the most pleasing augury of our future greatness and respectability among nations, which has, in a great measure, dispelled the fears and bodings of those evils, which a jarring of interests among so many sovereignties, united in one federal chain, seemed to threaten. I am happy to think, that *local interests and prejudices will give way to a great and general good, when clearly seen and well understood, and prudently and constitutionally pursued*. These, Sir, are, in my apprehension, the grand objects of our general council; a steady pursuit of which, without turning to the right or to the left, from local considerations, party animosity, partial views, or corrupt influence, will certainly guide the vessel of the State to a safe anchorage, and reward the pilots with the estimation and applause of their fellow citizens, and the admiration and respect of foreign powers.

I am happy to inform your Excellency, that a requisition to the States, on such principles as the Federal Constitution will authorize, if adopted, and on such liberal principles as I hope will facilitate, if not insure, the adoption, is now so far advanced as to be on the point of its passing through Congress, which will afford the means of providing ample and perma-

ment funds for the payment of the interest, not only to our army, but to foreign and domestic creditors of every description, as well as for sinking the principal. I cannot here omit suggesting to your Excellency, that your personal interest with some of the leading members of our Legislature, and perhaps with some of the other States, might give a happy turn to those requisitions when they are laid before the Assemblies; especially if grounded on the feelings and true situation of the army, with which you, Sir, are universally acknowledged to be better acquainted, and more conversant, than any other person can possibly be.

Embarked in the same cause, and, I flatter myself, on the same principle as your Excellency, I hope I need not apologize for the length of my letter, as its contents will fully demonstrate the interest I have in the successful issue of our common endeavours, that peace shall not arise without its blessings, content and happiness, to those by whose exertions it has been principally procured. Nor need I give an additional proof, I hope, of that entire confidence and esteem with which I am, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

THEODORIC BLAND.

P. S. I have not yet received any answer from Sir Guy Carleton to my letter, which you were so obliging as to send in. Should I receive it, I shall certainly communicate its contents to your Excellency; or should any letter come from him through your hands, directed to me, your Excellency will be pleased to open and peruse it, for your satisfaction on the subject you mention.

FROM BRIGADIER-GENERAL HUNTINGTON.

West Point, 16 April, 1783.

SIR,

In making military arrangements for a peace, a possible war has the first consideration; next, our finances; but I should suppose the necessary dispositions and institutions need not be expensive. If the system is perfect in its formation and execution, it will have such effects on the minds of those who are, or wish to be, our enemies, as to deter them from hostilities and even from secret machinations.

West Point has been held as the key of the United States. The British viewed it in the same point of light, and will, it is presumed, keep their eye upon it, as long as they regret the loss of the country, or have a passion for power and conquest. West Point is exposed to a *coup-de-main*, and ought therefore to be always in a complete condition of defence. With a little more expense than that of maintaining a garrison of five hundred or six hundred men, it may be made a safe deposit where every military article may be kept in good order and repair; and, with a small additional expense, an academy might be here instituted for instruction in all the branches of the military art.

To provide the garrison, in the first instance, retain the three years' men until their terms of service expire. In the mean time take boys of fourteen years of age, of whom there will be a sufficient number among the poor, whose circumstances will compel them; if not, among the middle and higher ranks, whose inclination will lead them, to engage for seven years for the sake of subsistence, clothing, mechanical

trades, and other useful learning; and to devote a part of their time to arms and garrison fatigue.

The next, and perhaps only other object worthy the attention of Congress, are some barriers against the Indians. The first measures with relation to them will make deep and lasting impressions, and ought therefore to be taken with caution. In the first instance, as large a body of troops as the British usually kept up in their country, would from us give them no alarm or uneasiness; but, whatever the Indians may think, it will behoove us to keep pace with the British, so far as to secure the country from their encroachments, awe the Indians, protect and enjoy their trade. Five or six hundred regular troops, in the western country, may be sufficient for those purposes, and at the same time greatly facilitate the settlement of it; and that, in turn, will supersede the necessity of regular troops in that quarter.

I am, &c.,

JEDEDIAH HUNTINGTON.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

(Confidential.)

Poughkeepsie, 17 April, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

The subject of your Excellency's letter of the 14th instant, is of such extensive importance, that it would require more information than I am possessed of to form the opinion you request of me, and more leisure than the present situation of affairs admits of, to arrange my thoughts (which, at best, I would offer with great diffidence) into system.

It appears to me indispensably necessary that some troops should be kept in service in time of peace, for the purpose of garrisoning the posts, which it may be thought expedient to maintain on the frontiers, and to protect the public magazines. The number must be determined by the posts which it may be necessary to occupy, of which I can form no judgment. But, as these will by no means be sufficient for defence in case of war; and as the modern systems of military arrangements that obtain in Europe would be totally inadmissible with us; and as our own experience has abundantly evinced that it is hazardous and expensive to the last degree to leave the defence of a country to its militia, some plan, in my opinion, ought to be adopted, which would preserve the great outlines of an army, in such manner as that it may not only be readily completed and drawn forth for action, whenever the exigencies of the nation shall require, but so as that it can be most speedily reduced to order and consistency.

For this purpose I would therefore propose, — that a sufficient number of officers to compose such an army be retained in service, by continuing to them their rank. That promotions should take place, and vacancies be filled up, in the same manner as at present. That they should not receive pay, except when in actual service, but be entitled to certain encouragements of the negative kind, such as exemption from serving in the militia, or in any of the burdensome offices of society; together with some such positive distinctions (if any should be necessary) as would not tend to give the most distant cause of jealousy or apprehension among the most scrupulous republicans, and at the same time would be sufficient to induce the present gentlemen to retain their ranks,

and be at the call of their country, and others solicitous to obtain commissions.

And, in order that we may always have a succession of officers well versed in the tactics of war, I would farther propose, that, at one seminary of learning in each State, where degrees in the arts and sciences are conferred, a professorship should be established, lectures read, and degrees conferred in the military science. These Professorships to be under the inspection of some officer of high rank, and distinguished abilities in the profession, who should have an adequate allowance of pay from the public, and be obliged to visit the several seminaries at stated periods, and report to the proper office the result of his visitations. From these seminaries all vacancies should be filled up as they occur, and no person should receive a commission, unless he had attended a certain number of courses of lectures, and been admitted to his degree.

A proportion of these officers will necessarily be employed with the troops for garrisoning the posts, &c. And I would propose that this duty should be performed by a certain routine, to be established for the purpose; that, in turn, all should share the advantage which may be derived from actual service, on the one hand, and, on the other, the mischiefs, which in time of peace might arise from too long a continuance in command at fixed posts, would thereby be obviated.

In all our peace arrangements, we ought, I conceive, to have an eye to the support of the Federal Union, as the first and principal object of national concern. Influenced by this consideration, I would prefer an establishment (however feeble it might appear) that is calculated to maintain that intimate

connection between the different States, which gave us success in war, and upon which I am persuaded our happiness and importance will depend in peace. And it is this which would induce me to wish to preserve even the name of a *Continental army*, as well as to cherish that sense of military honor, which is so nearly allied to public virtue as not to admit of distinction, but which, from the peculiar situation of our country, may otherwise be too soon extinguished. I have the honor to be, with the greatest deference and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 15 April, 1783.

SIR,

There are two resolutions passed, relative to the restoration of the British prisoners, and to making arrangements for the surrender of the posts in the possession of the British troops; the first of which is to be transacted by you in conjunction with the Secretary of War, the latter by yourself alone. I will explain to you some doubts which have arisen in Congress, with regard to the true construction of the provisional treaty, which may be of use to you in transacting the business above mentioned.

The sixth article declares that there shall be no future confiscation, &c., after the *ratification of the treaty in America*; and the seventh article makes the surrender of prisoners, evacuation of posts, cessation of hostilities, &c., to depend on that event, to wit, *the ratification of the treaty in America*. Now the doubt

is, whether *the treaty* means the provisional treaty *already concluded*, or the *definitive treaty to be concluded*. The last construction is most agreeable to the letter of the provisional articles; the former, most agreeable to the usual practice of nations; for hostilities commonly cease on the ratification of the preliminary treaty. There is a great diversity of opinion in Congress. It will be, in my opinion, advisable, at the same time that we do not communicate our doubts to the British, to extract their sense of the matter from them.

This may be done by asking them at what period they are willing to stipulate the surrender of posts, at the same time that they are asked in what manner it will be most convenient to them to receive the prisoners.

If they postpone the evacuation of the different posts to the definitive treaty, we shall then be justified in doing the same with respect to prisoners. The question will then arise, whether, on principles of humanity, economy, and liberality, we ought not to restore the prisoners at all events, without delay. Much may be said on both sides. I doubt the expedience of a total restoration of prisoners, until they are willing to fix the epochs at which they will take leave of us. It will add considerably to their strength; and accidents, though improbable, may happen. I confess, however, I am not clear in my opinion. I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

P. S. The provisional or preliminary treaty is ratified by us, for the greater caution.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Head-Quarters, Charleston, 20 April, 1783.

SIR,

I beg leave to congratulate your Excellency upon the returning smiles of peace, and the happy establishment of our independence. This important event must be doubly welcome to you, who have so successfully conducted the war, through such a variety of difficulties, to so happy a close. If universal respect, and the general affections of a grateful country, can compensate for the many painful hours which you have experienced in your country's cause, you are richly rewarded. Every heart feels, and every tongue confesses, the merit and importance of your services. The polite attention, which I have experienced since I have had the honor to serve under your command, claims my particular acknowledgments; and I feel a singular satisfaction in having preserved your confidence and esteem through the whole progress of the war, notwithstanding many jarring interests.

This pleasing event has relieved me from a load of anxiety on account of this country. I was much perplexed about withdrawing the troops from these States.

I wished to comply fully with the spirit of your orders on this subject, but was at a loss how, without involving us both in difficulties. Happily for us, these are removed. I have sent an express-boat to Philadelphia, to get your final orders respecting the troops, and to see if transports can be got to take the army to the northward, as I am anxious to get it away from here as early as possible. I hope this

may find you in Philadelphia, and that you will be able to return me an answer in a few days. The cavalry must march by land, unless the horses are sold here. I suppose I shall have liberty to come to the northward, as soon as I can make it convenient, where I have many calls, both of a public and private nature. I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM JOSEPH JONES, IN CONGRESS.

Philadelphia, 6 May, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

We have at length got through the plan of funds to be recommended to the States for their adoption. It has been the most difficult and perplexing discussion of any that have engaged the attention of this body for some time. The various objects to be combined, and the different interests to be reconciled, to make the system palatable to the States, was a work not easily or speedily to be effected; and although it was the wish of many to settle the plan upon clear and unquestionable principles of finance, yet such were the prejudices of some States, and of some individuals, and such their jealousies, we were obliged to take a middle course with respect to its duration, and the appointment of collectors, or hazard ultimately the loss of the measure. As it stands, I believe it will answer the purposes intended, if the States will grant their concurrence. A copy will be transmitted to you for your and the army's information.

As the state of our finances at present is such as

to make it difficult for the officer now at the head of that department, much more so for any new hand who might succeed him, to form the necessary arrangements for obtaining money sufficient for disbanding the army, Mr. Morris has agreed to act until that business is accomplished, and will, I hope, be able to effect it to the satisfaction of the army. But from appearances, the period of disbanding will be more distant than many at first apprehended, if that measure, as it seems to be proper it should, goes hand in hand with the evacuation of our country by the British forces. By this time you are better able to judge of the views and designs of Sir Guy Carleton, or of those who direct his movements, as I presume the intended interview took place, though, I confess, I thought there was indelicacy in the manner of that gentleman's mentioning his proposed attendants. In every thing else but that of evacuation (and they may be doing all they can in that, for any thing I know), they seem to act with fairness and liberality; and I should be sorry to find them in that, or any other instance, practising the old game of deception. We have reports that something of this sort appears in their conduct respecting the negroes in their possession, claimed by our citizens. These relations come from men of character, and, until the contrary is ascertained of what they assert, credit will be given to their reports. No proclamations can authorize a refusal of property to those who claim under the article of the treaty, and establish their right by satisfactory proof.

Colonel F. Thornton, about two years ago, lost many of his negroes, who went on board some of the British ships of war, up the Potomac. He wrote to me, the other day, about them. These, I believe, are

not sanctioned by proclamation, and yet, I suspect, if the old gentleman was to send a person to claim them, his labor would be lost. If what we are told respecting the conduct of those in power in New York, concerning the claimed property of the American citizens, be true, it will prove an effectual bar to the restoration of confiscated estates, had there been a disposition in the States before to render this. I wished to have seen the treaty faithfully executed on both sides ; but when arts and prevarication take place on one side, they are apt to prevail on the other.

I proceed immediately to Virginia, in order to attend the Assembly now convening, and shall thank you for any information respecting these matters you can properly communicate, that the truth may be known, and misrepresentations, if any prevail, removed. If any thing occurs to you, which you do not choose to communicate directly to the Executive, with respect to the arrangements necessary to be made on a peace, and shall confide them to me, proper attention shall be paid to your observations. With perfect esteem and respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate, humble servant,

JOSEPH JONES.

FROM COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU.

Paris, 13 July, 1783.

The letter you honored me with, my dear General, of the 10th of May, has given me the greatest pleasure. I see you at the glorious end of all your toils, and with the desire to come to France. Try, my

dear General, to effectuate this project. Let nothing oppose itself to the idea. Come and receive, in a country which honors you, and which has admired you, the plaudits due to a great man. You may be assured of a reception without example. You will be received, as you deserve to be, after a revolution which has not its like in history. Everybody smiles, already, at the hopes you give me in your letter, and my heart beats with pleasure at the thought of embracing you once more.

It seems to me you should embark about the beginning of October, so as to be here about the beginning of November. You will then find the Court returned from Fontainebleau. You will pass your winter in the midst of the gayeties of Paris and of Versailles; and, in the spring, we will carry you to our country seats. Come, my dear General, and satisfy the desires of a nation whose hearts are already yours. You will eclipse all the English, who arrive in crowds here for a change of air, and whom we receive well, because we are polite and civil. But the reception of General Washington will be in the hearts of the French.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

LE COMPTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Charleston, 8 August, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

When I wrote you last, I did not expect to address you from this place again; but Colonel Carrington has detained me upwards of a week, to complete the business of his department. On Thursday next we set off, by land, for the northward.

The Assembly of this State have rejected the impost act recommended by Congress. Had your circular letter been printed a fortnight earlier, I am persuaded it would have brought them into the measure. On once reading in the House, it produced an alteration of sentiment of more than one quarter of the members. The force and affection, with which it was written, made every one seem to embrace it with avidity. You were admired before; you are little less than adored now. The recommendation of Congress had but a feeble influence until it was supported by yours. Although the State did not come into the plan recommended by Congress, they have laid a tax of five per cent., under the authority of the State, to be solely for the Continental use. This I attribute entirely to your letter. Its effects have been astonishing.

I see, by the papers, the Northern army does not choose to be furloughed. The people here begin to be alarmed at it. I hope every thing will terminate both for the honor of the army and satisfaction of the people, notwithstanding. There have been several little mobs and riots lately in this town, owing to the indiscretion of some of the British merchants, and to the violence of temper and private views of some of the Whig interest. Tranquillity now prevails, and there is little probability of any further disturbances. I hope to be at Mount Vernon in about three weeks; but, from all I can learn of the northern affairs, there is little probability of my having the pleasure of meeting your Excellency there. Present me, respectfully, to Mrs. Washington, if with you, and to all the family. I am, with esteem and affection,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM FREDERIC HALDIMAND, GOVERNOR OF CANADA.

Sorel, 11 August, 1783.

SIR,

I have had the honor to receive, by the hands of Major-General Baron de Steuben, your Excellency's letter of the 12th of July last, communicating to me your having received instructions from the Congress of the United States to make proper arrangements with the Commanders-in-chief of the British forces in America, for receiving possession of the posts in the United States, occupied by the troops of His Britannic Majesty, agreeably to the seventh article of the provisional treaty; and your having appointed the Baron de Steuben to form the said arrangements with me, for receiving the posts and fortresses under my direction; and also acquainting me, that the Baron is charged with instructions from your Excellency to visit the posts within the boundary of the United States upon the river St. Lawrence and the Lakes above, for the purpose of having a report made to you of the measures necessary for the garrisoning and support of them.

In answer to your Excellency's letter, I beg leave to assure you, Sir, that few things would afford me greater pleasure than to manifest my readiness to comply with your Excellency's wishes, as far as it is consistent with my duty. Persuaded that your Excellency does not expect I should do more, I proceed to acquaint you, that His Majesty's proclamation, declaring a cessation of hostilities with the powers at war, and particular orders to comply with it, are the only instructions I have yet received upon the important subject of peace. Thus situated, a strict ob-

servance of my duty, and of the rules of war practised by all nations, leaves me no alternative, but that of deferring a compliance with your requests, until I shall be properly authorized to receive them.

While I regret the unavoidable disappointment, which the Baron de Steuben has met with in the execution of your Excellency's commands, I feel myself indebted to an occurrence, which has procured to me the acquaintance of an officer of so much repute in the line of his profession, and who stands so high in your Excellency's esteem.

As the Baron will communicate to your Excellency the substance of our conversation upon the subject of his commission, I shall add no more here, than to assure your Excellency that every measure, which obedience to the commands of my sovereign, and the most humane inclinations, could suggest, and which the indefatigable endeavours of my officers serving in the upper country, and the force of presents, could effect, has been unweariedly employed in restraining the Indians, and reconciling them to peace. And it is with sincere pleasure, I acquaint your Excellency, that my efforts have been completely successful, notwithstanding the hostile attempts, which were made against the upper country, long after their happy effects had been experienced upon the frontiers. I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient, and most humble servant,

FREDERIC HALDIMAND.

FROM BARON STEUBEN.

Saratoga, 23 August, 1783.

SIR,

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I arrived here last night, and, had my health permitted, should have continued my journey until I could have had the honor to inform your Excellency, in person, of the success of my mission.

Lieutenant-Colonel Villefranche will present this; to him I beg leave to refer for such observations relative to the situation of certain places, as I have been able to make during my tour. I esteem myself very unfortunate that I could not succeed in the business with which I was charged, and am only consoled by the idea that your Excellency will believe that every thing which was in my power to do was done, to answer the wishes of your Excellency and of Congress.

I arrived at Chamblee on the 2d of August, from whence I sent Major North to announce my arrival to General Haldimand. Inclosed is a copy of my letter, and his answer, which did not meet me till I had reached Dechambeau. According to General Haldimand's appointment, we met at Sorel, on the 8th, where I presented your Excellency's letter, and opened the business on which I was sent. To the first proposition which I had in charge to make, General Haldimand replied, that he had not received any orders for making the least arrangement for the evacuation of a single post; that he had only received orders to cease hostilities; those he had strictly complied with, not only by restraining the British troops, but also the savages, from committing the

least hostile act; but that, until he should receive positive orders for that purpose, he would not evacuate an inch of ground.

I informed him that I was not instructed to insist on an immediate evacuation of the posts in question, but that I was ordered to demand a safe conduct to, and a liberty of visiting the posts on our frontiers, and now occupied by the British, that I might judge of the arrangements necessary to be made for securing the interests of the United States. To this he answered, that the precaution was premature; that the peace was not yet signed; that he was only authorized to cease hostilities; and that, in this point of view, he could not permit that I should visit a single post occupied by the British. Neither would he agree that any kind of negotiation should take place between the United States and the Indians, if in his power to prevent it; and that the door of communication should, on his part, be shut, until he received positive orders from his Court to open it.

My last proposal was, that he should enter into an agreement to advise Congress of the evacuation of the posts, three months previous to their abandonment. This, for the reason before mentioned, he refused, declaring that, until the definitive treaty should be signed, he would not enter into any kind of agreement or negotiation whatever.

Although General Haldimand's answers to my demands were sufficiently clear not to be misunderstood, I requested his definitive answer in writing, a copy of which, together with a copy of my letter, is inclosed. Not having any thing to hope from a continuance of the negotiation, I left St. John's on the 13th. In a few days, I hope to be able to inform your Excellency more minutely of every thing which

passed between us. With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
STEUBEN.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Bordentown, 21 September, 1783.

SIR,

I am made exceedingly happy by the receipt of your friendly letter of the 10th instant, which is this moment come to hand; and the young gentleman that brought it, a son of Colonel George Morgan, waits while I write this. It had been sent to Philadelphia, and on my not being there, was returned, agreeably to directions on the outside, to Colonel Morgan at Princeton, who forwarded it to this place. I most sincerely thank you for your good wishes and friendship to me, and the kind invitation you have honored me with, which I shall with much pleasure accept.

On the resignation of Mr. Livingston in the winter, and likewise of Mr. Robert Morris, it was judged proper to discontinue the matter which took place when you were in Philadelphia. It was at the same time a pleasure to me to find both these gentlemen (to whom I was, before that time, but little known), so warmly disposed to assist in rendering my situation permanent; and Mr. Livingston's letter to me, in answer to one of mine to him, which I inclose, will serve to show that his friendship to me is in concurrence with yours.

By the advice of Mr. Morris, I presented a letter to Congress expressing a request that they would be

pleased to direct me to lay before them an account of what my services, such as they were, and situation, had been during the course of the war. This letter was referred to a Committee, and their report is now before Congress, and contains, as I am informed, a recommendation that I be appointed Historiographer to the Continent. I have desired some members, that the further consideration of it be postponed, until I can state to the Committee some matters which I wish them to be acquainted with, both with regard to myself and the appointment. And as it was my intention, so I am now encouraged by your friendship, to take your confidential advice upon it before I present it. For, though I never was at a loss in writing on public matters, I feel exceedingly so in what respects myself.

I am hurt by the neglect of the collective, ostensible body of America, in a way in which it is probable they do not perceive my feelings. It has an effect in putting either my reputation, or their generosity, at stake; for it cannot fail of suggesting that either I (notwithstanding the appearance of service) have been undeserving their regard, or that they are remiss towards me. Their silence is to me something like condemnation, and their neglect must be justified by my loss of reputation, or my reputation supported at their injury; either of which is alike painful to me. But, as I have ever been dumb on every thing which might touch national honor, so I mean ever to continue so. Wishing you, Sir, the happy enjoyment of peace, and every public and private felicity, I remain, your Excellency's

Most obliged and obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

Philadelphia, 2 October, 1783.

SIR,

I have drawn up the inclosed with a design of presenting it to the Committee, to whom a letter of mine to Congress was referred, and who have delivered in a report, as mentioned in my former letter to your Excellency. I have not read the narrative over, since I wrote it. A man's judgment in his own behalf, situated as I am, is very likely to be wrong, and between the apprehensions of saying too little or too much, he probably errs in both.

What I can best say in favor of it is, that it is true, and contains matters which I wish Congress to know; and though there is an awkwardness in the information coming from me, yet, as it cannot come from anybody else, I feel an excuse to myself in doing it. I have shown it to no person whatever, nor mentioned it to any one except Mr. Robert Morris, who advised the measure, and for that reason wished it to be done without his knowing any thing further of it. Therefore, as it is yet in embryo, should there be any thing in it that might be thought improper, I shall be much obliged to you to point it out to me.

The case, as it appears to me, turns thus. If Congress and the country are disposed to make me any acknowledgments, it is right and necessary that they should know what the narrative mentions; and if not, it will serve to exculpate me, in the opinion of future Congresses, from the implied demerit which the neglect of former ones serve to lay me under. And these are the points I chiefly had in view in draw-

ing it up. Mr. Clarke, and Mr. Peters, who are of the Committee, were earnest with me to communicate myself to them freely; and had proposed my meeting them on the Monday on which the alarm of the soldiers happened at Philadelphia. This, of consequence, prevented it, and I then proposed doing it in writing; and, therefore, as I am under the obligation of presenting something to the Committee, from whom it will probably come before Congress, my wish to your Excellency is, that you would give me your confidential opinion whether I am acting in or out of character, in what I have drawn up for that purpose.

My landlord, where I lodged at Philadelphia, having removed from the house, occasioned my coming to town, to pack up my things; after which I shall return to Bordentown, and hope, in a few days, to have the happiness to see you well at Rocky Hill. I am now at Colonel Biddle's. General Greene is come to Annapolis; and I hope for the opportunity of seeing him before I leave town, as I understand from Colonel Pettit that his health is on the recovery.

We have no news here. The definitive treaty and treaty of commerce are long in completing. I suppose the British begin to find out the weak part of America. The imprudent conduct and publications of Rhode Island have, among other things, served to show it. The British, I believe, would have had no idea of superior advantages in a treaty of commerce, had they not discovered that the authority of Congress was not sufficient to control or prevent them.

Though I am most exceedingly obliged to you for your good opinion and kind disposition towards me, yet I have not a great deal of expectation from Con-

gress. The constant coldness they have shown in every thing which respects me, does not, I am apt to think, arise from my not having done enough, but too much. Many of them, hitherto, were not friends to fame in individuals, and perhaps less so to me, because that which I gained, or rather, could not avoid, though a service to them, was in a line which bordered too nearly on their own. So far as this is a reason, it makes the case the harder; yet I cannot help thinking there is some truth in it. I am, with every wish for your health and happiness, your Excellency's

Much obliged, and obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

FROM GOVERNOR CLINTON.

Poughkeepsie, 14 October, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

This is the first moment I have found myself able to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's obliging letter of the 11th ultimo, and to express the grateful sense I entertain of the concern which you are so kindly pleased to express for my recovery. The severity of my disorder had so far abated as to enable me to leave my room, and attempt a little moderate exercise; but, after two or three days, it was succeeded by a slow fever, attended with a disagreeable cough and depression of spirits, which came upon me every afternoon, and continued until morning. Its long continuance has reduced me very low, and my recovery is almost imperceptible, so that I have little reason speedily to expect a return of my usual health.

I am sorry to learn, that the peace establishment is so long delayed; though it is what I expected, nor do I believe one will ever be agreed upon that will give respectability to the nation, and security to the frontiers. Some States appear now to be exceedingly jealous of the Confederation; and, I observe, even towns are giving instructions to their representatives to guard against any infringement of it. It would become them to reflect, that, not long since, when it suited their interest and their humor, a violation of it, in a very essential instance, was so far from being disagreeable, that it was strongly advocated by those States who now appear the most scrupulous. I am fully persuaded, unless the powers of the National Council are enlarged, and that body better supported than it is at present, all their measures will discover such feebleness and want of energy, as will stain us with disgrace, and expose us to the worst of evils.

We have as yet no certainty when the British will leave the southern district of this State, though all accounts agree that their stay will not exceed the 10th of next month. As my correspondence with Sir Guy, since your Excellency left this quarter, has ceased, I am something apprehensive that he may not give me timely notice, as he promised to do in his first letter, for the establishment of the jurisdiction of the State over that district on his departure; and disorders will consequently take place, before measures can be taken by the State to prevent them. I could wish, therefore, that the troops on the lines in Westchester county might have orders to move to the neighbourhood of the city the moment the British leave it, and, if there should be no impropriety in it, be subject to my direction while they remain there. And I would be much obliged to your Excellency,

if you will be pleased to inform me by express (the expense whereof the State will cheerfully pay), of the first advice you may receive of the time proposed by Sir Guy for his departure.

We were under much anxiety on hearing of Mrs. Washington's indisposition, and were made extremely happy by your account of her recovery. Mrs. Clinton joins me in requesting you to accept and to tender to Mrs. Washington our most respectful compliments. I am, with the highest sentiments of respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE CLINTON.

P. S. Your Excellency will be pleased to excuse this scroll's not appearing in my own hand. I attempted to copy it, but found it too much for me.

FROM JOHN HANCOCK, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Boston, 15 October, 1783.

SIR,

My feelings as a private friend, and the very great personal regard for your Excellency with which I have been penetrated ever since I had the honor of an acquaintance with you, would by no means allow me to see you retiring from your important employments without paying you my particular attentions. But when, as a public man, warmly attached to the interest of my country, I consider the nature of those services which you have rendered to that country; when I recollect the cares you have sustained, the fatigues you have endured, and the dangers you have

confronted, for the public safety; when I call to mind the many instances in which your abilities, your prudence, your fortitude and patience, have been superior to the severest trials; and when I now see the great object of all so completely obtained in the establishment of the independence and peace of the United States;—my heart is too full to forbear to congratulate your Excellency in the most respectful and affectionate manner, upon an issue so happy to them, and so glorious to yourself.

To all your services, as Commander-in-chief of an army that has, in a manner astonishing to the whole world, efficaciously supported the freedom of America, you have constantly added, and particularly in your late circular letter to the States, the result of your uncommon wisdom and experience as a statesman, to assist us in improving, to the happiest purposes, the advantages gained by our arms.

After such services, which consecrate your name to all posterity, with what home-felt satisfaction must your future days be blest! Heaven crown them with every favor! May you long live, my dear General, and long have the joy to see the increasing splendor and prosperity of a rising nation, aided by your counsels, and defended by your sword! Indulge me the pleasure to believe that I have a place in your recollection, and still honor and make me happy in your friendship. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect sentiments of regard and esteem, dear General, your

Most obedient and very faithful, humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK.

FROM MAJOR-GENERAL GREENE.

Philadelphia, 3 November, 1783.

SIR,

I return your Excellency many thanks for your polite letter, accompanying the resolution of Congress, complimenting me with a couple of cannon. I am not very certain where those cannon are, but I believe two are in Virginia, and three in South Carolina; and it is no less difficult for me to determine where I would wish those sent which are made choice of for me. If those in South Carolina should be fixed upon, I would wish them to remain in Charleston. But if those in Virginia should be appropriated for this purpose, if agreeable, let them be sent to Newport. Should any thing happen before this business is executed, which should enable me to be more explicit on the subject, I shall take the earliest opportunity of signifying to your Excellency my further wishes in the matter. I am, with the highest respect, and greatest esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
NATHANAEL GREENE.

FROM JONATHAN TRUMBULL, JR.*

Lebanon, 15 November, 1783.

SIR,

It may be a matter of curiosity to your Excellency to see the address of Governor Trumbull to the General Assembly and freemen of the State, declining any further election to public office. As such, I take

* He had been for some time one of General Washington's Aids-de-camp, and was afterwards Governor of Connecticut.

the liberty to inclose it to you, with the reply of the Legislature on the occasion.

To show your Excellency the cautious jealousy of our Legislature, which takes its tone from the people, and has arisen to a pitch of very extraordinary excess, I inclose also a paragraph, which was reported by a Committee of the General Assembly, as part of their reply, but which was rejected by the lower House of Assembly, lest, by adopting it, they should seem to convey to the people an idea of their concurring with the political sentiments contained in the address;—so excessively jealous is the spirit of this State at present, respecting the powers and the engagements of Congress, arising principally from their aversion to the half-pay and commutation granted to the army. Principally, I say, arising from this cause, because it is but too true that some few are wicked enough to hope that, by means of this clamor, they may be able to rid themselves of the whole public debt, by introducing so much confusion and disorder into public measures as shall eventually produce a general abolition of the whole.

Lamentable as this idea is, I fear the sentiment is but too growing a one. What from the interested motives of some, and the wicked designs of others, there is too much reason to apprehend its prevalence. But Providence is wise; and that same Divine superintendence, which has so remarkably watched over our Revolution, will, I trust, still guard us from the machinations of wicked men, and prevent the fatal consequences of the ill-judged policy of interested and designing ones.

You will pardon me, Sir, for troubling you with this gloomy tale. For myself, I have not lost my confidence in the final issue of our political establishment; and your Excellency's firmness and resolution

I know to be superior to any desponding ideas. I give it to you, as the present temper of the people only, which, though for a time misled by the artful, interested, and contracted views of the designing part of the community, too many of whom, mounted upon the hobby-horse of the day, have rode into confidence, yet must take a turn soon, overcome by the superior good sense of the virtuous part of the public, some of whom already begin to perceive the delusion.

Our Assembly, who did nothing in their last session, stand adjourned to January. The popular clamor against commutation, which alone prevented a compliance with the recommendations of Congress, is on the decline; and it is hoped that the next Assembly, following the example of Massachusetts, will pass the impost without restriction.

I expect this will reach your Excellency at your own seat; the long wished-for place of your retreat from public cares and business. In this happy retirement may you enjoy many pleasant days and years of unenvied felicity, partaking every domestic and social happiness that your exalted virtues and merits so justly entitle you to! May I beg your Excellency to present my most respectful compliments and regards to Mrs. Washington, for whose health and future happiness I feel a very particular desire. With the most respectful attachment and sincere regard, I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and obliged humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL, JR.

P. S. I have in charge to convey to you the Governor's very sincere respects and compliments, with his earnest wishes for your future health, prosperity, and every felicity.

PART SECOND;

CONTAINING

CORRESPONDENCE

FROM THE TIME OF

WASHINGTON'S RETIREMENT FROM THE ARMY,

TO THE

END OF HIS PRESIDENCY.

CORRESPONDENCE

AFTER THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

FROM GOVERNOR HARRISON.

Richmond, 6 January, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,

It gives me great pleasure to inform that the Assembly yesterday, without a dissenting voice, complimented you with fifty shares in the Potomac Company, and one hundred in the James River Company, of which I give you early notice to stop your subscribing on your own account. As this compliment is intended by your country in commemoration of your assiduous cares to promote her interest, I hope you will have no scruples in accepting the present, and thereby gratifying them in their most earnest wishes. I most sincerely tender you and your good lady the compliments of the season, and many happy renewals of it; and am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate servant,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

Boston, 21 February, 1784.

Agreeably to my promise, my dear Sir, I write you from this place, and flatter myself with the hope that, although my letter contains no important intelligence, yet it may not be displeasing to you.

Your calm retreat of Mount Vernon must be a source of ineffable delight to you. You can from thence take a retrospective view of the critical exigencies of the war, and see a thousand ways by which the issue might have been the reverse of what it is. And your happiness must be in proportion to the extreme difficulties and dangers of the contest, and the immense blessings secured to your country by the glorious peace, contrasted with the miseries consequent upon an unfortunate termination.

We have little or no politics; all commerce frozen up by the uncommon severity of the season; but better prospects in the spring. There are now upon the stocks, in different parts of the State, for the fisheries and other branches of trade, upwards of eight hundred vessels, which will be at sea early in the summer.

New Hampshire and this State have come into the impost exactly as proposed by Congress; and it appears to be pretty certain that Rhode Island and Connecticut will be induced to come into it. Many sensible men are for the powers of the Union being high braced; but no measures are proposed to effect it.

The Cincinnati appears, however groundlessly, to be an object of jealousy. The idea is that it has been created by a foreign influence, in order to

change our forms of government. And this opinion is strengthened by a letter from one of our Ministers abroad. Burke's pamphlet has had its full operation. The cool, dispassionately sensible men seem to approve of the institution generally, but dislike the hereditary descent. The two branches of the Legislature of this State, namely, the Assembly and Senate, have chosen a Committee, "to inquire into any associations or combinations to introduce undue distinctions into the community, and which may have a tendency to create a race of hereditary nobility, contrary to the Confederation of the United States, and the spirit of the Constitution of this Commonwealth." They have not yet reported, and perhaps they will not. The same sentiments pervade New England. The Society here have had a respectable meeting in Boston, on the 10th instant, at which General Lincoln presided. General Heath was not present. A Committee was chosen to attend the general meeting at Philadelphia next May; — General R. Putnam, Colonel Cobb, Lieutenant-Colonel Hull, Major Sargent and myself. Probably only two will attend. It was thought prudent not to make any honorary members at present. The officers and soldiers conduct themselves in an exemplary manner, and are generally as industrious as any part of the community.

I wrote your Excellency from West Point on the 3d ultimo, inclosing the returns, and a particular account of matters there, which I hope met your approbation. And I also wrote you a line on the 9th of the same month, the day I set out from thence. We reside at Dorchester, about five miles from town, in a very agreeable situation. I shall hope for the pleasure of hearing from you at your leisure. Mrs. Knox presents her sincere and ardent affection to Mrs.

Washington, and proposes to write particularly to her soon; and I also beg my respectful compliments may be added. I am, my dear Sir, your truly

Respectful and affectionate, humble servant,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 9 March, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Had I not so perfect a confidence in your friendship, I should very much fear to tire you with my scribbling of this day; but cannot leave my pen before I have again mentioned my tender, respectful affection to my dear General. I want to tell you that Madame de Lafayette and my three children are well, and that all of us, in the family, heartily join to present their dutiful, affectionate compliments to Mrs. Washington and yourself. Tell her that I hope soon to thank her for a dish of tea at Mount Vernon. Yes, my dear General, before the month of June is over, you will see a vessel coming up the Potomac, and out of that vessel will your friend jump, with a panting heart, and all the feelings of perfect happiness.

I intended to have gone sooner; but a few commercial matters will keep me here; for, since nobody meddles with them, I have undertaken, in my private capacity, to do what is possible for one who has neither title nor instruction. It is at least a comfort that, in my private capacity, I cannot commit Congress; and that I never speak but of what I know. Four ports having been declared free, I send Mr. Morris a letter respecting the duties to be paid there;

and I hope Congress will also publish that all duties have been removed for the exportation of brandies.

Most of the Americans here are virulent against our Association.* Wadsworth must be excepted, and Dr. Franklin said little; but Jay, Adams, and all the others, warmly blame the army. You easily guess I am not remiss in opposing them. However, if it is found that the hereditry endangers the true principles of democracy, I am as ready as any man to renounce it. You will be my compass, my dear General; because, at this distance, I cannot judge. In case, after better consideration, you find that hereditry will injure our democratic constitutions, I join with you, by proxy, in voting against it. But I do so much rely on your judgment that, if you think hereditry is a proper scheme, I shall be convinced that your patriotism has considered the matter in the best point of view. To you alone I would say so much; and I abide by your opinion in the matter. Let the foregoing be confidential; but, I am sure, your disinterested virtue will weigh all possible future consequences of hereditary distinctions.

There are no news at this moment that are worth relating. What respects balloons, M. L'Enfant will tell.† The present English disputes are somewhat ridiculous; they must end in a dissolution of Parliament, or a union between Pitt and Fox. Adieu, my dear General. Accept, with your usual goodness, the affectionate tribute of a heart so entirely devoted to you, that no words can ever express the respect, the love, and all the sentiments, with which you know it

* Society of the Cincinnati.

† Alluding to the recent experiments of Montgolfier in the construction of balloons.

is glowing for you, and that make me, until my last breath,

Your obedient, humble, and affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Annapolis, 15 March, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

Since my last, nothing new has occurred. I suppose the crippled state of Congress is not new to you. We have only nine States present, eight of whom are represented by two members each; and of course, on all great questions, not only a unanimity of States, but of members, is necessary; a unanimity which can never be obtained on a matter of any importance. The consequence is, that we are wasting our time and labor in vain efforts to do business. Nothing less than the presence of thirteen States, represented by an odd number of delegates, will enable us to get forward a single capital point.

The deed for the cession of western territory by Virginia, was executed and accepted on the 1st instant. I hope our country will, of herself, determine to cede still further to the meridian of the mouth of the great Kenhawa. Further she cannot govern; so far is necessary for her own well-being. The reasons which call for this boundary (which will retain all the waters of the Kenhawa) are,—that within that are our lead mines. Secondly, this river, rising in North Carolina, traverses our whole latitude, and offers to every part of it a channel for navigation and commerce to the western country. But, thirdly, it is a channel which cannot be opened but at immense

expense, and with every facility which an absolute power over both shores will give. Fourthly, this river, and its waters, form a band of good land, passing along our whole frontier, and forming on it a barrier, which will be strongly seated. Fifthly, for one hundred and eighty miles beyond these waters is a mountainous barren, which can never be inhabited, and will of course form a safe separation between us and any other State. Sixthly, this tract of country lies more convenient to receive its government from Virginia than from any other State. Seventhly, it will preserve to us all the upper parts of Youghiogany and Cheat Rivers, within which much will be to be done, to open these, which are the true doors to the western commerce.

The union of this navigation with that of the Potomac is a subject on which I mentioned that I would take the liberty of writing to you. I am sure its value and practicability are both well known to you. This is the moment, however, for seizing it, if ever we mean to have it. All the world is becoming commercial. Was it practicable to keep our new empire separated from them, we might indulge ourselves in speculating whether commerce contributes to the happiness of mankind. But we cannot separate ourselves from them. Our citizens have had too full a taste of the comforts furnished by the arts and manufactures, to be debarred the use of them. We must then, in our own defence, endeavour to share as large a portion as we can of this modern source of wealth and power. That offered to us from the western country is under a competition between the Hudson, the Potomac, and the Mississippi itself. Down the last, will pass all heavy commodities; but the navigation through the Gulf of Mexico is so

dangerous, and that up the Mississippi so difficult and tedious, that it is not probable that European merchandise will return through that channel. It is most likely that flour, lumber, and other heavy articles, will be floated on rafts, which will be themselves an article of sale as well as their loading; the navigators returning by land, or in light bateaux.

There will, therefore, be a rivalry between the Hudson and the Potomac, for the residue of the commerce of all the country westward of Lake Erie, on the waters of the Lakes, of the Ohio and upper parts of the Mississippi. To go to New York, that part of the trade, which comes from the Lakes or their waters, must first be brought into Lake Erie. So also must that which comes from the waters of the Mississippi, and of course must cross at some portage into the waters of the Lakes. When it shall have entered Lake Erie, it must coast along its southern shore, on account of the number and excellence of its harbours; the northern, though shortest, having few harbours, and these unsafe. Having reached Cuyahoga, to proceed on to New York, will be nine hundred and seventy miles from thence, and five portages; whereas it is but four hundred and thirty miles to Alexandria, if it turns into the Cuyahoga, and passes through that, Big Beaver, Ohio, Youghiogany (or Monongalia and Cheat), and Potomac, and there are but two portages for the trade of the Ohio, or that which shall come into it from its own waters or the Mississippi. It is nearer to Alexandria than to New York by seven hundred and thirty miles, and is interrupted by one portage only. Nature then has declared in favor of the Potomac; and through that channel offers to pour into our lap the whole commerce of the western world. But, unfortunately, the

channel by the Hudson is already open and known in practice; ours is still to be opened. This is the moment in which the trade of the west will begin to get into motion, and to take its direction. It behooves us, then, to open our doors to it.

I have lately pressed this subject on my friends in the General Assembly, proposing to them to endeavour to have a tax laid, which shall bring into a separate chest from five to ten thousand pounds a year, to be employed, first, in opening the upper waters of the Ohio and Potomac, where a little money and time will do a great deal, leaving the Great Falls for the last part of the work. To remove the idea of partiality, I have suggested the propriety and justice of continuing this fund, till all the rivers shall be cleared successively. But a most powerful objection always arises to propositions of this kind. It is, that public undertakings are carelessly managed, and much money spent to little purpose. To obviate this objection is the purpose of my giving you the trouble of this discussion. You have retired from public life; you have weighed this determination, and it would be impertinence in me to touch it. But would the superintendence of this work break in too much on the sweets of retirement and repose?

If they would, I stop here. Your future time and wishes are sacred in my eye. If it would be only a dignified amusement to you, what a monument of your retirement would it be! It is one which would follow that of your public life, and bespeak it the work of the same great hand. I am confident, that would you either alone, or jointly with any persons you think proper, be willing to direct this business, it would remove the only objection, the weight of which I apprehend. Though the tax should not come

in till the fall, its proceeds should be anticipated by borrowing from some other fund, to enable the work to be begun this summer. When you view me as not owning, nor ever having a prospect of owning, one inch of land, on any water, either of the Potomac or Ohio, it will tend to apologize for the trouble I have given you of this long letter, by showing, that my zeal in this business is public and pure. The best atonement for the time I have occupied you, will be, not to add to it longer than while I assure you of the sincerity and esteem with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

P. S. The hurry of time, in my former letter, prevented my thanking you for your polite and friendly invitation to Mount Vernon. I shall certainly pay my respects there to Mrs. Washington and yourself, with great pleasure, whenever it shall be in my power.

FROM GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

Lebanon, 20 April, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

Having had the satisfaction to accord with you in the sentiment of retiring from the busy cares of public life, to the tranquil scenes of private enjoyment, I anticipate, with much pleasure, the reflections which such a state will enable us to make upon the happy issue of those anxious and perplexing vicissitudes through which, in the course of an eight years' unusual war, you and I have had the lot to pass, and, in the cares and solitudes of which, we have borne no ignoble part.

I felicitate you, Sir, with great cordiality, on your having already reached the goal of your wishes, and most devoutly invoke the Divine benediction on your enjoyments and pursuits. A month more, I trust, will bring me to the haven of retirement; in the tranquillity of which I hope to have leisure to attend to and cultivate those seeds of private friendship, which have been planted during the tumults of war, and in the cultivation of which I promise myself to reap much pleasure.

Indulging these prospects, I am induced to wish, and even to hope, that the correspondence between you and me, which commenced under the pressure of disagreeable circumstances, may not wholly cease when we find ourselves in a happier situation. Although enveloped in the shades of retirement, the busy mind cannot suppress its activity, but will be seeking some employment, which will indeed be necessary to dispel that languor which a scene of inactivity would be apt to produce. Subjects will not be wanting; far different, and more agreeable, I trust, than those we have been accustomed to dwell upon; and occasions will present which may serve to beguile a lingering hour, and afford some pleasing amusement, or instructive information. Let not the disparity of age, or the idea of a correspondent seventy-three years advanced on his journey through life, chill your expectations from this proposal. I promise you my best endeavours; and when you perceive, as too soon, alas! you may, that your returns are not proportional to your disbursements, you have only to cease your correspondence; I shall submit.

The fruits of our peace and independence do not, at present, wear so promising an appearance as I had fondly painted to my mind. The jealousies, the

prejudices, and turbulence of the people, at times, almost stagger my confidence in our political establishment, and almost occasion me to think that they will show themselves unworthy the noble prize for which we have contended, and which, I had pleased myself, was so near our enjoyment. But again, I check this rising impatience, and console myself under the present prospect, with the consideration that the same beneficent and wise Providence which has done so much for this country, will not eventually leave us to ruin our own happiness, to become the sport of chance, or the scoff of an admiring world; but that great things are still in store for this people, which time, and the wisdom of the Great Director, will produce in its best season. In this better confidence, I bid you adieu for the present, wishing you every felicity, while I subscribe myself, with sincere esteem, and the most affectionate regard, &c. &c.,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

Annapolis, 28 May, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have now been here nearly one week, and nothing of importance has been decided upon, owing to the contrariety of sentiments concerning the powers vested in Congress to raise troops, in time of peace, for any purpose. There appears but one sentiment respecting the necessity of having troops for the frontiers; but the difficulty is, how to obtain them. The Southern States are generally of opinion that the Confederation vests Congress with sufficient powers

for this purpose; but the Eastern States are of a different opinion. The eastern Delegates are willing to recommend the raising troops for the western posts. But the gentlemen from the southward say this would be giving up a right, which is of importance to preserve, and they cannot consent to *recommend*, when they ought *to require*; so that, from this cause, it is to be feared that there will not be any troops raised; and there are many difficulties as to sending those which are raised, and at West Point, &c. I shall stay until the point is finally decided, or until Congress adjourn, provided it be on the 3d of next month, as it is agreed.

I am, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

North Carolina, 10 June, 1784.

SIR,

I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency some acts passed at the last session of our Legislature, by which you will see, in some measure, the disposition of this State to comply with the views of Congress, as well as to grant such further powers as may render the Confederation more competent to the purposes of the Union.

The act for the levying our proportion of one million five hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the impost, and empowering Congress to collect the same, will by no means raise so large a sum; it being only a land-tax of sixpence on every hundred acres of land, and a poll-tax of one shilling and sixpence on all white males from twenty-one upwards, and on all slaves from twelve years old to fifty. It establishes

the principle recommended by Congress ; and, I trust, the good sense of this, and the other States, will soon, if they do not already, see the necessity of establishing solid and effectual revenues to enable Congress to perform their engagements.

The members of the Legislature could not consent to vote the full sum required, after they had ceded all the lands westward of the Appalachian Mountain. They urged it was not necessary, since Congress were in possession of the cessions of New York, Virginia, and North Carolina. The cession of our western lands was much debated and opposed. The House of Commons were long divided whether to make the Tennessee, Cumberland Mountain, or the Appalachian, our Western boundary ; but finally passed the act as you see it, fifty-three against forty-one. There are, within our cession, more than three thousand men able to bear arms.

The recommendation of Congress, respecting the fifth article of the treaty, is not complied with, nor is there any thing done to carry the treaty into effect ; and I suspect it will be difficult to induce us to think aright on this subject (although our citizens seem well disposed), while we have ambitious, discontented spirits, whose popular existence depends on fanning the passions of the common people against the refugees. The stale cry of speculation and embezzlement of the public money, aided by complaints of hard times and heavy taxes, was never listened to with more avidity, than the clamors against the refugees and payment of British debts ; and this, too, by men who cannot possibly be gainers if all *bonâ fide* debts were wiped off with a sponge ; but who must, assuredly, share in the disgrace of their country, by such shameful, unwarrantable conduct.

I have not, in this State, heard a single objection to the commutation, or rendering ample justice to the army. Early in the spring there was circulated the pamphlet said to be written by Burke, of South Carolina, against the institution of the Cincinnati, which gave some uneasiness to some people, who were apprehensive the institution would be productive of an aristocracy dangerous to the principles of our Governments. But a little reflection, with the remembrance of the patience, perseverance, and sufferings of the army, in defence of their just rights and liberties, has worn down the suspicions in some measure, and will, I hope, teach them to put their trust in those who, in the worst of times, stood the constant sentinels over the liberties of their country, and to suspect those who have screened themselves in the hour of danger, and now step forth to revile the virtuous well-doer, and his endeavours to adopt wise and equitable measures.

The Legislature has changed the annual election from March to August, and the annual meeting will be in October. I hope they then will amend such of our acts as are imperfect, and pass such others, respecting the treaty, as may be consonant with the wishes of those who are for wise and equitable measures.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Richmond, 2 July, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

The sanction given by your favor of the 12th instant to my desire of remunerating the genius which

produced "Common Sense," led to a trial for the purpose. The gift first proposed was a moiety of the tract on the Eastern Shore, known by the name of "The Secretary's land." The easy reception it found induced the friends of the measure to add the other moiety to the proposition, which would have raised the market value of the donation to about four thousand pounds, or upwards, though it would not, probably, have commanded a rent of more than one hundred pounds per annum. In this form, the bill passed through two readings. The third reading proved that the tide had suddenly changed, for the bill was thrown out by a large majority. An attempt was next made to sell the land in question, and apply two thousand pounds of the money to the purchase of a farm for Mr. Paine. This was lost by a single voice.

Whether a greater disposition to reward patriotic and distinguished exertions of genius, will be found on any succeeding occasion, is not for me to predetermine. Should it finally appear that the merits of the man, whose writings have so much contributed to infuse and foster the spirit of independence in the people of America, are unable to inspire them with a just beneficence, the world, it is to be feared, will give us as little credit for our policy as for our gratitude in this particular. The wish of Mr. Paine to be provided for by separate acts of the States, rather than by Congress, is, I think, a natural and just one. In the latter case, it might be construed into the wages of a mercenary writer; in the former, it would look like the returns of gratitude for voluntary services. Upon the same principle, the mode wished by Mr. Paine ought to be preferred by the States themselves.

I beg the favor of you to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington, and to be assured that I am, with the profoundest respect and sincerest regard, &c., &c.,

JAMES MADISON, Jr.

FROM OTHO H. WILLIAMS.

Baltimore, 12 July, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

After I had the pleasure of seeing you in Philadelphia, I made an excursion to New York, and from thence up the North River as far as Saratoga. One motive for extending my tour so far that course, was to visit the springs in the vicinity of Saratoga, which I recollected you once recommended to me as a remedy for the rheumatism. They are now much frequented by the uncivilized people of the back country; but very few others resort to them, as there is but one small hut within several miles of the place. Colonel Armstrong and myself spent one week there, which was equal to a little campaign; for the accommodations were very wretched, and provisions exceedingly scarce. The country about the springs being uncultivated, we were forced to send to the borders of the Hudson for what was necessary for our subsistence.

During our stay, we made a few little experiments on the waters. Bark of a restringent quality turned them to a purple color very suddenly, and we thought that iron was discoverable even to the taste. They have certainly a very great quantity of salts. A quart of the water, boiled down, produced a spoonful, which being diluted in common water, there re-

mained on the surface a quantity of insipid, tasteless matter, like chalk, which we collected; then pouring off the water into a clean vessel, we found remaining at the bottom something like slacked lime. The water, in which the first production was diluted, being boiled down, produced half a spoonful of very acute salt. But that which distinguishes these waters, in a very conspicuous degree, from all others, is the great quantity of fixed air which they contain. They are exceedingly pungent to the taste, and, after being drank a short time, will often affect the nose like brisk, bottled ale. The water will raise flour sooner than any other thing, and cannot be confined so that the air will not, some how or other, escape. Several persons told us that they had corked it tight in bottles, and that the bottles brake. We tried it with the only bottle we had, which did not break, but the air found its way through a wooden stopper, and the wax with which it was sealed. A trout died in the water in less than a minute, or seemed dead, but recovered in common water. This experiment was repeated with the same effect. We observed, in digging, that the rocks which are about the springs, and which, in one or two places, project themselves above the earth in a conic form, go not deep into the ground, but are formed by the waters, which (the man who lives at the place informed us) overflow once per month, when not disturbed, and the earthy parts, being exposed to the air and sun, petrify, and increase. This opinion is strengthened by the shells and bodies of insects which we found in broken parts of the rock.

I have given you my observations, because, I think, you told me what you knew of these extraordinary springs was from information.

At Clermont, Mrs. Livingston charged me with a letter for Mrs. Washington, and with her most respectful compliments to you, Sir. All that amiable family joined in affectionate compliments to you, and to Mrs. Washington; and I beg you will permit me to add my own.

I am, &c.,

OTHO H. WILLIAMS.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

Chantilly, 22 July, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

The letter that you did me the honor to write to me, on the 12th of June last, I did not receive until two days ago. I impute this to my having been obliged to leave the Assembly, by the ill state of my health, a fortnight before it was adjourned.

The very great respect that I shall ever pay to your recommendations, would have been very sufficient to have procured my exertions in favor of Mr. Paine, independent of his great public merits in our revolution. I have a perfect knowledge of the extraordinary effects produced by that gentleman's writings; effects of such an important nature, as would render it very unworthy of these States to let him suffer any where; but it would be culpable indeed, to permit it, under their own eye, and within their own limits. I had not the good fortune to be present when Mr. Paine's business was considered in the House of Delegates, or, most certainly, I should have exerted myself in his behalf. I have been told, that a proposition in his favor miscarried, from its being observed that he had shown enmity to this State, by

having written a pamphlet injurious to our claim of western territory. It has ever appeared to me, that this pamphlet was the consequence of Mr. Paine's being himself imposed upon; and that it was rather the fault of the place than of the man.

This, however, was but a trifle, when compared with the great and essential services that his other writings have done for the United States.

I am, &c., &c.,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, 10 August, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have already had the pleasure to acquaint you with my arrival in America, and am endeavouring to reach Mount Vernon as soon as possible. My first plan was only to stay here two days; but the affectionate reception I have met with in this city, and the returning some compliments to the Assembly, render it necessary to stay one day longer. On Friday, I will be at the Head of Elk; the next day, at Baltimore; and by Sunday, or Monday, I hope at last to be blessed with a sight of my dear General. There is no rest for me until I go to Mount Vernon. I long for the pleasure to embrace you, my dear General; and the happiness of being once more with you will be so great, that no words can ever express it. Adieu, my dear General; in a few days I shall be at Mount Vernon, and I do already feel delighted with so charming a prospect. My best respects wait

upon Mrs. Washington; and, not long after you receive this, I will tell you myself how respectfully and affectionately I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. In case your affairs call you to the Springs, I beg leave to go there after you, or to accompany you in your journey.

FROM JACOB READ.

Annapolis, 13 August, 1784.

SIR,

This day's post brought me your favor of the 11th, which I have the pleasure of answering from Annapolis, having been prevented leaving Maryland by a variety of occurrences in the last week. I think, however, I shall, at all events, get away in the course of the next week, and probably so early as to complete my journey to Philadelphia.

I thank you for your opinions. They concur perfectly with my own sentiments on those subjects, and, I am sorry to add, there is too much truth in your observation on the management of our affairs. Let the blame fall where it ought,—on those, whose attachment to State views, State interests, and State prejudices, is so great, as to render them eternally opposed to every measure that can be devised for the public good. The evil is not, however, as yet, entirely incurable. I hope and trust the next Congress will be more willing and able to avert the mischiefs that appear to me to threaten the Union. If

that cannot be done, we must look about, and see if some more efficient form of government cannot be devised. I have long entertained my doubts of the present form, even if the States were all disposed to be honest, and am sorry to say, such a conclusion would, however, be against premises. I will determine nothing rashly, and hope for the best. My most strenuous endeavours shall not be wanting to secure the peace and stability of the Federal Union, and the government, as long as it is possible; but, I own, I shall not hesitate to join in attempting another, when I see, from experience, that we have instituted is not adequate to the purposes for which it was ordained. Congress either have too little or too much power. To be respectable, they must be enabled to enforce an obedience to their ordinances; else why the farce of enacting what no State is bound to execute? If this is denied, Congress is, I think, an unnecessary and useless burden, and should not hold from the individual States a great many powers, which they cannot exercise, and had better be remitted to the individual sovereignties. Of this, more at another time. I ask your Excellency's pardon for so long trespassing on your patience at this time, without treating the subject more copiously and conclusively.

Colonel H. J. Laurens is arrived at New York; is seven weeks from London, and brings advices, that the King and Ministry of Great Britain are very favorably disposed towards the United States, and wish to have a liberal commercial treaty.

The Marquis de Lafayette came to Philadelphia on the 9th instant. Advices from our Ministers abroad, by his hands, were by him delivered to Mr. Mifflin, at New York, and are not yet come to hand.

What think you of the State of New York undertaking to hold a treaty, of its own authority, with the Six Nations, in defiance of our resolves, and the clause of the Confederation restricting the individual States? The Governor is actually now at Albany for the purpose. Such a step will render all our endeavours abortive, and be attended with worse consequences, with respect to the Indians, than almost any other that State could take. It is said to be under an express law of the State. If this conduct is to be pursued, our Commissioners are rendered useless. As long as the savages believe there are distinct, independent, and perhaps jealous powers, to treat with them, they will certainly avail themselves of the circumstance, much to the disadvantage of the Union. New York has taken no steps, with regard to the troops required for garrisoning the north-western frontier.

I beg my best respects to your lady, and that you will always believe me to be, &c., &c.

JACOB READ.

P. S. The Committee of the States is broken up; the members from the Eastern States, and from New Jersey, having gone off on Wednesday in a most extraordinary manner.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Albany, 8 October, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Everywhere I have met with delays; but so agreeable were they in their nature, that I cannot complain of them. It is not quite the same with the

Indian treaty, although the hope to be useful has kept me there longer than I had expected. My presence at the opening of it had been desired. Many circumstances kept it off. At last it began, and my influence with the Indians was found greater than I myself could expect. I was, therefore, desired to speak, to hearken, to answer. I took the liberty to caution the Commissioners upon such points as you had mentioned to me, and did not leave the ground until they thought they had no farther occasion for me. But, as the business is just beginning, I cannot give you any further intelligence, but that a great deal of intrigue is carried on by some Tory Indians of Brant's party, and that the Whig and Tory distinctions are kept up among those tribes to an amazing degree of private animosities.

This day, my dear General, I am going towards Hartford, Boston, and Newport, where the French ships now are; and as, if I went by land, I should be so much kept off by my friends as to be very late at our appointed meeting, I intend submitting to the little inconvenience of going by water from Rhode Island to Williamsburg, where I hope to be about the 26th, and where I shall be happy to receive the orders of my dear General.

Waiting upon the Assembly at Richmond, and visiting Fredericksburg in my way to Mount Vernon, would be my plan; but I expect your orders, to know where I am to meet you. It is possible you had rather not go to Richmond. In a word, my dear General, as your paternal goodness to me cannot stand upon any kind of ceremony, give me your orders; tell me what I had best to do, and I shall be, as you well know, happy to obey them.

One thing, my dear General, I very much wish

you might grant me. As the time of my stay in Virginia will depend upon your advice respecting French letters which I am to receive there, as it will be there a last visit for this American trip of mine, I shall be happy if, without inconvenience to yourself, you may come with me so far at least as Philadelphia, where your friends depend upon me to have an opportunity to see you.

Could you pay the Virginia visits with me, could I meet you somewhere, at Fredericksburg I suppose (where in that case I would go before I visit Richmond), it would be to me a most heartfelt happiness. I beg your pardon, my beloved General, but I want to see you, and no heart can better feel the pleasure to be with you, than the filial heart of

Your respectful and affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Boston, 22 October, 1784.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

On my arrival at Boston, I have been so friendly received, that no words can express my truly affectionate gratitude. To these enjoyments I have added the heartfelt pleasure to contemplate the effect a sudden appearance of your picture had upon a people, whose love to you is as great at least as in any part of the world. Circumstanced as I am, I could not, with any propriety, set out so soon as I expected. I am sorry our meeting again is deferred; but, when you are absent, I endeavour to guess what you would have advised me to do, and then do it. I am sure you would advise my staying here some time

longer. I therefore will not go until the 1st or 2d of next month, and then I embark from Boston in the *Nymph* frigate to go to New York. M. de Grandchain, who commands her, begs to be respectfully remembered to you; and as he expects reaching York about the 8th or 10th, he will, in company with me, wait upon you wherever you may be found.

The bearer I send to Mount Vernon, in order I may receive your commands at the moment I arrive. So late in the season, I think you will advise my going immediately to Richmond. I hope you will let me know where we are to meet; and I also hope, my dear General, you will not deny my affectionate, pressing request, to induce your visiting with me our friends in Philadelphia.

The Chevalier's respects and mine wait upon Mrs. Washington, and wish to be remembered to all the family. Adieu, my dear General. With the most affectionate and devoted sentiments of filial love and respect, I have the honor to be, yours, &c.,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, 10 December, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

Every thing on this side the water seems to indicate a certainty of war. The Emperor seems decided in not receding from the right to navigate the Scheldt, and the Dutch as determined not to yield it. I suppose that this Court, and that of Berlin, will take part with the Dutch. The Turks, of course, become parties in a war against the Emperor; and it seems as probable that the Empress of Russia will join him.

There are many who believe he will yet retract; but every public appearance is against this supposition. I own myself astonished he should have gone so far; but I should be more so, were he now to retire. He is indeed in a perilous predicament. If he recedes, his character, which his public acts have placed on very high ground, dwindles to that of a petty bully, and is marked, as his enemies denote it, with eccentricity and inconsistency. If he persists, the probable combination against him seems to threaten his ruin. When the season arrives for opening a campaign, we shall know decidedly, and probably not before.

The disposition of Great Britain does not seem very favorable to us; all information from thence represents the people, and still more the merchants, as extremely hostile. I think it probable we shall take a trip to that Court, in order to bring their intentions to a decided issue. It seems probable, also, that Spain will refuse to treat at this place, and oblige us to visit Madrid. I had lately a letter from Mr. Carmichael, at Madrid. He informs me that a Mr. Harrison, of Cadiz, had, on your behalf, applied to him to procure permission to send you a jack of the best race; and that, on his making the application, the King had ordered two of the very best to be procured and sent you as a mark of his respect. Besides the pleasure I receive from every testimonial of this kind, I view this present as likely to be of great public utility. I had before intended to endeavour to procure a male of that race, but shall now change my object to the procuring one or more females, that we may be enabled to propagate and preserve the breed. Should I go to Spain, I shall surely be able to effect this.

The Executive of our State have remitted to Dr.

Franklin and myself the care of having the statue made, which the Assembly directed as a mark of their gratitude to you. I was unwell when I received the letter, and have not yet been able to see and confer with Dr. Franklin on the subject. I find that a Monsieur Houdon, of this place, possesses the reputation of being the first statuary in the world. I sent for him, and had some conversation with him on the subject. He thinks it cannot be perfectly done from a picture; and is so enthusiastically fond of being the executor of this work, that he offers to go himself to America for the purpose of forming your bust from the life, leaving all his business here in the mean time. He thinks that being three weeks with you would suffice to make his model of plaister, with which he will return here; and the work will employ him three years. If Dr. Franklin concurs with me, we shall send him over, not having time to ask your permission, and await your answer. I trust that, having given to your country so much of your time heretofore, you will add the short space which this operation will require to enable them to transmit to posterity the form of the person whose actions will be delivered to them by history. Monsieur Houdon is at present engaged in making a statue of the King of France. A bust of Voltaire, executed by him, is said to be one of the first in the world.

I beg leave to present my respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington, and to assure yourself of the high esteem and veneration with which I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM JAMES DUANE.

Trenton, 16 December, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I entertained the pleasing hope of meeting you at this place ; on no better authority, indeed, than report, and yet I feel the disappointment in proportion to my affection for your person, my gratitude for your public services, and the kind attention with which you have always indulged me. Be pleased to take in good part the address which I have the honor to transmit, with the freedom of our city in a golden box. It can add nothing to your glory ; but we flatter ourselves it may not be unacceptable as a permanent testimony of the esteem and gratitude of citizens, who, of all others, have been most distinguished by your care and solicitude.

I once flattered myself that the dignity of our Government would have borne some proportion to the illustrious achievements by which it was successfully established ; but it is to be deplored that federal attachment, and a sense of national obligation, continue to give place to vain prejudices in favor of the independence and sovereignty of the individual States. I have endeavoured, in pursuance of the great motive which induced me to continue in public life, to inculcate more enlarged and liberal principles ; but the spirit of the times seems opposed to my feeble efforts, and I have lost credit with our Assembly ; though, I hope, not with the world. If opportunity offers, I shall take the liberty to submit to your perusal the judgment pronounced in the Court where I preside, which has produced the censure promulgated in the papers ; in effect, “that we had the presumption

to control the operation of an act of the Legislature, from a respect to the treaty of peace and the law of nations." I trust you know me too well to think that I can be otherwise concerned for this event than as it may injure the reputation of my native State, of which I have so long been a faithful and confidential servant. Mr. Jay, Mr. Dickinson, and other great men, from public considerations, have honored us with the highest approbation. Their comments are calculated for the public eye, and will appear when they can do the greatest good.

I have too long been indulged in writing to you with unreserved freedom and confidence, to suppress this detail; and, if it was ever so immaterial, your goodness would pardon it.

Do me the honor to make my most respectful compliments acceptable to Mrs. Washington, and to assure her that, in the circle of her numerous friends, there are none who remember her with more sincere regard than Mrs. Duane and all the branches of our family. With every sentiment of the most perfect and affectionate attachment,

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

JAMES DUANE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

On board the *Nymph*, New York Harbour,
21 December, 1784

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have received your affectionate letter of the 8th; and from the known sentiments of my heart to you, you will easily guess what my feelings have been in perusing the tender expressions of your friendship.

No, my beloved General, our late parting was not by any means a last interview. My whole soul revolts at the idea; and could I harbour it an instant, indeed, my dear General, it would make me miserable. I well see you never will go to France. The inexpressible pleasure of embracing you in my own house, of welcoming you in a family where your name is adored, I do not much expect to experience; but to you I shall return, and, within the walls of Mount Vernon, we shall yet often speak of old times. My firm plan is to visit now and then my friend on this side of the Atlantic; and the most beloved of all friends I ever had, or ever shall have anywhere, is too strong an inducement for me to return to him, not to think that whenever it is possible I shall renew my so pleasing visits to Mount Vernon.

Since I have left you, my dear General, we have passed through Philadelphia to Trenton, where I was happy to find a numerous and well-chosen Congress. Their testimonies of kindness to me, and my answer to them, you will see in the newspapers. As to my services abroad, it has been (on motion respecting what I told you) universally decided that public confidence in me was a matter of course, a doubt of which ought not to be expressed. But, as I know the sense of the Congress, and as Mr. Jay has accepted,* and Mr. Jefferson will be Minister in France, my situation in that respect will be very agreeable.

Orders have been sent to Canada to reënforce the Lake posts, put the vessels in commission, and repel force by force. But I think that if once Congress have the trade to regulate, mercantile interdictions

* The appointment of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, as successor to Mr. Livingston.

will set these people to rights. Although party spirit had a little subsided in New York, yet that city is not by any means settled. How far from Boston!

Although your nephew is not arrived, I will hope for the pleasure to see him in Paris. General Greene was in Hartford when the letter reached him, from where he came to New York, and I had the pleasure to spend some days with him. Inclosed I send you a small cipher. Should any public political business require a fuller one, I will write to you a complete cipher I have had long ago with Mr. Jay's present department.

Mr. Carey, printer of the *Volunteer* journal, has been obliged to fly for his life, and now lives at Mr. Suttler's, hatter, Front street, in Philadelphia, where he is going to set up a paper. A letter from you, becoming a subscriber, and telling him I have mentioned it to you, will the most oblige me, as I have promised him to recommend him to my friends. He is now an American; and we have nothing to do with his quarrel with the Duke of Rutland, which disputes, by the by, seem to subside, and vanish into nothing. The French packet is not yet arrived.

The Chevalier de Caraman and Captain Grandchain beg leave to offer their respects to you, Mrs. Washington, and all the family. My most tender, affectionate respects wait upon Mrs. Washington and all the family. I beg she will give a kiss for me to the little girls, my friend ; and I beg Mrs. Stuart, the Doctor, Mr. Lund Washington, and all our friends, to receive my best compliments. I hope Mr. Harrison will be soon appointed, and I wish his cousin may know it.

Adieu, adieu, my dear General. It is with inexpressible pain that I feel I am going to be severed

from you by the Atlantic. Every thing, that admiration, respect, gratitude, friendship, and filial love, can inspire, is combined in my affectionate heart to devote me most tenderly to you. In your friendship I find a delight which words cannot express. Adieu, my dear General. It is not without emotion that I write this word, although I know I shall soon visit you again. Be attentive to your health. Let me hear from you every month. Adieu, adieu.

LAFAYETTE.

FROM BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Berkley, 8 February, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your esteemed favor of the 22d of last month reached me but a few days ago. Letters, by post, are some time getting to me, owing to the distance I am from the post road.

I was fully aware of the difficulties the compliment made you by the Assembly would lay you under, and assure you that the love and friendship I entertain for you, my earnest wishes that you might still support that noble disinterestedness of character that has hitherto marked all your steps and actions, and a perfect knowledge of the delicacy of your feelings, gave me a full share of perplexities on the occasion. If you were without enemies, or the eye of malevolence was not intently fixed on all your actions, I should not see the least impropriety in your accepting a present from your grateful country, particularly as every care has been taken, in the preamble to the grant, to guard against the most distant appearance of its being a gratuity for the important

services you have rendered America, and to fix it to the true objects of the acts, the great and real advantages that will derive to the country from the extension of its navigation, the parent of which you have been, and to whom, alone, they owe their existence, or will probably owe their completion. But, on the other hand, when I view mankind, their proneness to put the worst construction on every action of those of exalted character, and the triumph it will give your enemies to have an apparent, though false, opportunity to attempt the lessening your reputation, I am at a loss what advice to give, and shall, therefore, leave the determination to your own far better judgment.

As to your fears of appearing ostentatious, by a refusal, I think they are altogether groundless. Your countrymen have too high an opinion of your discernment not to acquiesce in your determination; but more especially in points where reputation is the stake. Their motives for what they have done were of the purest kind. They saw, with concern, the sacrifices you had made for their benefit, by a total neglect of your domestic affairs; and they have been earnestly seeking an opportunity to show their gratitude and love for you. They thought one presented itself that was out of the reach of detraction, and, therefore, embraced it with one voice, and, as far as I could see, with one mind, and, I am certain, would sensibly feel any slur cast on your reputation. With these sentiments, though they will feel unhappy that they cannot be gratified in their wishes, yet they will not take amiss a refusal dictated by motives that have hitherto done you so much honor. I am happy to find that, though you have not taken your final resolution with respect to the compliment, you

will still forward the schemes; as the works, under your patronage and protection, will advance more rapidly than they would otherwise do, and the subscription probably be filled, as I fear would not be the case if advantage is not taken of the ardor of the present Government.

I am extremely obliged to my good friends at Mount Vernon for their kind inquiry as to the health of Mrs. Harrison, who is getting better, though slowly. I have hopes, and indeed expect, she will mend faster when the weather will permit her to use exercise, which seems to be her only remedy. She and the girls join me in the most friendly and affectionate compliments to you and the ladies. I am, my dear Sir, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and regard,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
BENJAMIN HARRISON.

FROM CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE.

Paris, 15 February, 1785.

SIR,

The Marquis de Lafayette has delivered to me the letters of your Excellency, and I am extremely flattered by this mark of your attention and of your remembrance. I have executed your commissions near his Majesty and the Royal Family, and the King is concerned that your domestic affairs deprive him of the satisfaction to see a man, whose talents and virtues have procured the happiness of his country, and excited the admiration of all others.

I thank you heartily for the news your Excellency has been pleased to give me of America. The

present excellent formation of Congress gives me great hopes that the public debt will be secured, and that all the other branches of administration will take a more regular form. A nation, which has done so great things as yours, during ten years, is expected to crown its achievements by acts of justice. This qualification is so common in America, that I am persuaded its voice will be heard in all your assemblies, and America will be at last as just in time of peace, as it has been patient and brave during the war.

Since my arrival in Europe, the different Cabinets have been much agitated. The Emperor has produced some pretensions against Holland, which are not yet adjusted. He has likewise manifested a desire to annex the Duchy of Bavaria to his dominions, and to cede, by way of exchange, to the Elector the Austrian possessions in the Netherlands. This arrangement seems to displease very much the different military powers in Europe. Preparations of war are going on at Vienna, at Berlin, in Holland, and in France. It is, however, very probable that the war will not take place in the course of this year. But a general flame is certainly very near to break out; and though France and England be very far from wishing for war, it will be very difficult to prevent the troubles of Germany, if the Emperor does not, of his own accord, give up his pretensions. The Imperial Court seems to be intimately united with that of Russia; two powers, rich in resources, and full of ambition; and as they are not happy enough to have, like America, at their head a man who prefers the welfare of mankind to his private advantage, there are great apprehensions of a general war in Europe. The events of it will be read by your Ex-

cellency, in your retreat, with a small degree of satisfaction; for you will observe that, far from giving liberty to some nation, this war will only serve to increase the miseries of several countries during many years.

I am very thankful for the interest you are pleased to take in my fate, which is not yet decided. If I was allowed to follow my own inclination, I should wish to return to America, and to be happy with my old friends; but a consequence of my profession is to accept of the destination which is prescribed to me. Whatever it may be, I shall never forget the attention and friendship of your Excellency. I beg you to continue in those sentiments, and to honor me sometimes with your letters. With the most sincere and respectful attachment and acknowledgment, I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

LUZERNE.

FROM PATRICK HENRY.

Richmond, 19 March, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

W

The honor you are pleased to do me in your favor of the 27th ultimo, desiring my opinion, in a friendly way, on the subject of the act for vesting the shares in the Potomac and James River navigation, is very flattering to me. And I should ill deserve the confidence you are pleased to place in me, if I should forbear to give you my unreserved sentiments on it.

I will freely own to you, that I am embarrassed to reconcile the law, taken in its full extent, with the

declarations you mention, and a fixed purpose of refusing pecuniary rewards. If this was the sole object of the act, I should not hesitate to dissent to its propriety. The United States seem most properly constituted to take into consideration a matter of that nature, for a variety of reasons, which I need not enumerate. But the preamble of the law, compared with a few facts that preceded the enacting of it, will present it in a view different from that of rewarding past military services. The facts I allude to are these.

The great business of opening the navigation of Potomac and James River, and connecting it with that of the western waters, was taken up by you, and pressed with that earnestness so interesting a matter deserved. The difficulties, which nature had interposed, were increased by a combination of interests, hard to develop and explain, and still harder to reconcile. To all these was added another impediment arising from the scarcity of money, and the exhausted condition of the country. The time, however, was critical, and your observations, sent to the Assembly, proved that it was good policy to encounter every obstacle, and begin the work. The patronage of it seemed naturally to devolve on you, Sir; and the Assembly, desiring to give efficacy to that patronage, vested the shares in you.

This navigation depends upon private subscription for success, so that, unless you had subscribed, you could not have been concerned. You will forgive me for supposing that your finances could not have made it desirable to risk a sum of money on the success of an enterprise like this. For your estate could not have been exempted from that loss in its produce, experienced by other gentlemen's estates throughout

the country during the war. Considering, then, that your promoting this great affair necessarily obliged you to subscribe to it, and besides, to encounter all the difficulties arising from the nature of it, the variety of interests, views, and circumstances, which attended it, and that, in arranging and conducting all these, not only great labor and attention as well as abilities are requisite, but also expense of money and loss of time,—it would seem at least that you ought to be secured against the chance of losing by subscribing. And this is all the law can be said to do, inasmuch as it must remain uncertain whether the shares are worth any thing, till the business is completed. If this never happens to be accomplished, your labor, time, &c., &c., are lost, and the donation proves an empty sound.

Your acceptance of it will prevent that shock, which you justly observe will be given by a refusal; and I submit to your reflection, how far your resignation of the shares may throw a damp on that ardor which I have the pleasure to hear prevails at present to promote the undertaking. I must believe that at least a temporary check would be given to its progress, till the means of replacing so many shares could be found; and I am really not able to find out the way to do it. Your acceptance will avoid this embarrassing circumstance. And if, after reviewing the whole matter, you shall think it inadmissible to hold the shares in the manner the law gives them, you will be at liberty to make such alteration in the interest, or disposition of the use, as shall be most agreeable to yourself.

If I have exceeded in the freedom with which I have treated this subject, I must entreat your forgiveness; for I have no motive but to evince, on every

occasion, that I am, with unalterable affection and the most sincere attachment,

Dear Sir, your very obedient servant,

PATRICK HENRY.

P. S. Two other large packets from Ireland accompany this. The post could not carry them all at once. No other conveyance seems to present soon, and the Captain (Boyle) begs to receive your commands as soon as convenient.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

Boston, 24 March, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your kind favor of the 28th ultimo, which I received last evening, with its inclosures; and I sincerely hope I shall not be under the necessity of troubling you so much again. But, in the present instance, I am under the necessity of mentioning that Major Winthrop Sargent has repeatedly informed me, that a certificate from you would be one of the most desirable and acceptable things to him. I at length promised him that I would request it of you. He is really clever, and was an excellent artillery officer.

I will endeavour to make an arrangement of the lime-stone, in the manner that shall be the least expensive; but our spring is so backward, that we have but little prospect of getting the stone from the eastward before the month of June. It shall be forwarded by the earliest opportunity to your house, or Alexandria. The weather is now as severe as at any

time during the winter, and the snow and ice are nearly three feet upon a level.

I am highly delighted with the delicate gratitude of Virginia, and am at the same time charmed with your sentiments and reasoning upon it. I sincerely hope, circumstanced as you are, that you may find a mode of declining the intended appropriation, so as to enhance the respect and affection of your fellow-citizens. My jealousy for your fame is so high that I should prefer seeing you, Cincinnatus-like, following your plough, rather than accept the least pecuniary reward whatever. Your services are of that nature as to demand the approbation and admiration of succeeding generations, but cannot be rewarded by money. Thank the Supreme God, you are happily placed above the necessity of receiving any assistance!

Perhaps, my dear Sir, you could intimate to the Legislature, in a manner which would be clear of every indelicate imputation, that, should they think proper to apply the produce of this fund to the maintenance of the widows, and the support and education of the children, of those men of their own line who sacrificed their lives in defence of their country, and of the maimed soldiers, that the measure would rear an eternal monument to the virtue of the Commonwealth of Virginia. An event of this kind, which, I am persuaded, has been among the number of expedients conceived by you, would rank Virginia higher in the annals of America than any other State; and the idea coming from you, would place your warm and disinterested attachment to suffering in a durable and glorious point of view. Let my affection plead my excuse for this freedom.

The Mall, in this town, has been repaired, and the trees replaced. But I believe the gravel walk is only

upon the common principle, without any cement whatever. I will, however, inquire, and if there should be any improvement, I will with pleasure communicate it.

You may probably have heard that Congress have been pleased to appoint me Secretary at War. I have accepted of the office, and expect to be in New York about the 15th of next month. From the habits imbibed during the war, and from the opinion of my friends that I should make but an indifferent trader, I thought, upon mature consideration, that it was well to accept it, although the salary (twenty-four hundred and fifty dollars) would be but a slender support. I have dependence upon an unwieldy estate belonging to Mrs. Knox's family, and upon the public certificates given for my services; but neither of these are productive, and require a course of years to make them so. In the mean time, my expenses are considerable, and require some funds for their supply. Congress have rendered the powers and duties of the office respectable, and the circumstances of my appointment were flattering, being without solicitation on my part, and nine States out of eleven voting for me. For this favorable opinion of Congress, I conceive myself indebted to your friendship. I do not intend to move my family to New York until next June. Mrs. Knox, who, with her little ones, are well, unites with me in presenting our affectionate respects to Mrs. Washington. I am, my dear Sir,

Your truly affectionate, humble servant,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM CHARLES THOMSON.

Philadelphia, 22 April, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I received yesterday your letter of the 5th; and, as the subject therein referred to belongs to the department of Foreign Affairs, I have transmitted it to Mr. Jay.

I have no doubt but the Minister, who is to negotiate with the Court of London, will have occasion for the list; but, as it would not be safe to trust a paper of such importance to the common conveyance by the post, and as it is proper that you should keep either the original or a copy, to prevent a chasm in your files, I have taken the liberty of suggesting to Mr. Jay the propriety of sending one of his clerks to take a copy, and to bring up either it or the original, leaving the other with you.

The last time I had the pleasure of seeing you, I entertained, and, I believe, expressed, a fond hope that measures would speedily be adopted to enable you, without much trouble, and without putting you to any expense, to have your files arranged, copied, and secured, so as to be preserved from danger or accident. I consider them as invaluable documents, from which future historians will derive light and knowledge. I consider it as a most fortunate circumstance, that, through all your dangers and difficulties, you have happily preserved them entire. And although the adjournment which took place last summer, and the subsequent removal since the meeting in November, have prevented Congress from adopting the measure I wished, yet I trust they will, at a convenient time, attend to the subject, and take proper steps for preserving so invaluable a treasure.

I am now busily employed in preparations for the removal of my family to New York. If there be any thing in which I can serve you, I hope you will command me. Mrs. Thomson joins in respects to Mrs. Washington. With the most sincere esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,
CHARLES THOMSON.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 3 May, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I have long had a letter prepared for you in answer to your last favor, which I have kept for the Honorable Mr. Sitgreaves to be the bearer of, as he proposed to visit you on his return to North Carolina; and the more especially as his stay has been occasioned by the necessity of seeing the very important ordinance passed for selling the western lands, which I wished you to have in its perfected state. The principal design of this letter is to introduce to you Mr. Graham and his lady, the justly celebrated Mrs. Macaulay Graham, whose reputation in the learned world, and among the friends to the rights of human nature, is very high indeed. Her merit as an historian is very great, and places her as an author in the foremost rank of writers. I am well pleased to find that she, as well as all other judicious foreigners, think themselves, when in America, however distant from Mount Vernon, obliged to pay their respects to you. I believe that this has been her only motive for going so far south as Virginia.

We are amused here with an account, that does not indeed come officially to us, but however in such a way as to merit attention. It is a plan of the Emperor of Germany, which seems calculated to quiet his quarrel with Holland, although, perhaps, it may not prevent a war in Europe. He is said to have made a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, by which he exchanges his Netherland dominions for those of Bavaria, and transfers, with the exchange, all his rights and claims upon Holland; reserving Namur and Luxemburg, with a district of country around, as a *douceur* to France, for obtaining the consent of that Court to the exchange. The Bavarian dominions being much more contiguous to the Austrian than those of the Netherlands, must greatly increase the Emperor's power by a concentration of his force, heretofore so much divided as to render the Netherlands of no great aid in case of war. This, however, by increasing the Austrian power, must, of course, excite greatly the jealousy of Prussia in particular, whose King will probably risk a war rather than see his rival thus strengthened. Holland, in the mean time, will be relieved, by injurious claims being transferred from a strong to a weak hand, and the Emperor may find himself brought to a more equal contest by combating one, instead of three powers lately combined against him. What may be the issue of this new system, time must develop.

I wish that I may be enabled by Mr. Sitgreaves to furnish you with the final sense of Congress upon the momentous business of selling the western lands, in doing which the first and greatest object seems to be the discharging effectually the great weight of debt, that the war has created, and which obstructs so effectually every arrangement for future security.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the sincerest respect and esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

FROM WILLIAM GRAYSON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, May, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 25th of April, for which I am much obliged to you. I am sorry for the melancholy occasion which has induced you to leave Mount Vernon, and for the affliction which the loss of such near relations must involve Mrs. Washington in.

The ordinance for disposing of the western territory has been under consideration ever since I wrote you last, and has undergone several alterations; the most considerable of which is, that one half of the land is to be sold by sections or lots, and the other half by entire townships; and the dimension of each township is reduced to six miles. I now expect the ordinance will be completed in a few days, it being the opinion of most gentlemen that it is better to pass it in its present form nearly, than to delay it much longer, and incur the risk of losing the country altogether. As soon as it is finished, I shall do myself the honor to inclose you a copy; and, though it will be far from being the best that could be made, yet I verily believe it is the best that, under present circumstances, can be procured. There have appeared so many interfering interests, most of them imaginary, so many ill-founded jealousies and suspicions throughout the whole, that I am only surprised

the ordinance is not more exceptionable. Indeed, if the importunities of the public creditors, and the reluctance to pay them by taxation, either direct or implied, had not been so great, I am satisfied no land ordinance could have been procured, except under such disadvantages as would, in a great degree, have excluded the idea of actual settlements within any short length of time. This is not strange, when we reflect that several of the States are averse to new votes from that part of the Continent, and that some of them are now disposing of their own vacant lands, and of course wish to have their particular debts paid, and their own countries settled in the first instance, before there is any interference from any other quarter.

With respect to the different places of sale, it is certainly open to the objections you mention; but it was absolutely necessary to accede to the measure, before we could advance a single step. Since the receipt of your letter, I have hinted to some of the members the propriety of altering this part; but find that the idea of allowing the citizens of each State an equal chance of trying the good lands at their own doors, was one of the strongest reasons with them for consenting to the ordinance. As to the individual States interfering in the sale, it is guarded against; and in case the Loan-Officer, who is responsible only to Congress, cannot dispose of the land in a limited time, it is to be returned to the Treasury Board. With respect to the fractional parts of townships, the ordinance has now provided for all cases which can occur, except with respect to the Pennsylvania line. The course of the new State from the Ohio will be due north; and the dispute with Pennsylvania will be open to discussion hereafter.

I am sorry to observe, that, throughout this measure, there has been a necessity for sacrificing one's own opinion to that of other people, for the purpose of getting forward. There have never been above ten States on the floor; and nine of these were necessary to concur in one sentiment, lest they should refuse to vote for the ordinance on its passage. The price is fixed at a dollar the acre, liquidated certificates; that is, the land is not to be sold under that. The reason for establishing this sum was, that a part of the House were for half a dollar, and another part for two dollars, and others for intermediate sums between the two extremes; so that, ultimately, this was agreed upon as a central ground. If it is too high (which I am afraid is the case), it may hereafter be corrected by a resolution. I still mean to move for some amendments, which I think will not only advance the sale, but increase the facility of purchasing to foreigners; though, from present appearances, I own I have but little hopes of success.

After this affair is over, the requisition for the current year will be brought forward. The article of thirty thousand dollars, for the erection of federal buildings at Trenton, I have already objected to, and shall continue to oppose, by every means in my power, as I look upon the measure to be fundamentally wrong; and I am in hopes nine States cannot be found to vote for it. Should those in opposition to the measure be able to put off the execution for the present year, it is to be expected that the Southern States will open their eyes to their true interests, and view this subject in a different light. What I at present fear is, that, failing to get this article allowed in the requisition, they will attempt to draw the money from Holland by a vote of seven States, inas-

much as a hundred thousand dollars were voted at Trenton for that purpose, although no particular fund was assigned. I own this matter has given me some disgust, as I see an intemperate ardor to carry it into execution before the sense of the Union is known; and I have no doubt that some gentlemen have come into Congress expressly for that purpose.

I take the liberty of introducing Mr. Sitgreaves, a Delegate from North Carolina, a gentleman of great worth, who is travelling through our own State to his own country. He will be very happy to communicate to you the news of this place. I inclose you the report of a Committee for altering the first paragraph of the ninth article of the Confederation, which embraces objects of great magnitude, and about which there is a great difference of sentiment. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your affectionate friend and most obedient servant,
WILLIAM GRAYSON.

FROM WILLIAM GODDARD.

Baltimore, 30 May, 1785.

SIR,

As the manuscript papers of General Lee, after his decease, came into my hands, I have been induced, from several motives, to arrange and prepare them for publication. The General, in his lifetime, requested it from me; and my profession, as a printer and bookseller, made it an object of interest worthy my attention. But, as I cannot be ignorant of some unhappy differences which subsisted between your Excellency and General Lee, I have thought proper to

acquaint your Excellency with my conduct in this business.

Influenced by no party consideration, and altogether devoid of any sinister intention of exalting one character at the expense of another, I have taken care to suppress many passages that might be offensive in the General's pieces and correspondence. While it was my duty to preserve what was useful in military and political knowledge, I took the liberty to suppress such expressions as appeared to be the ebullitions of a disappointed and irritated mind; so that I flatter myself your Excellency will be convinced of the candor of my intention in the execution of the work. Inclosed I have sent a copy of the title-page, and the proposals are now preparing for the press. In a few weeks I purpose to send them to your Excellency; and in the mean time should esteem it a favor to hear, as soon as convenient, from your Excellency, whether this has come safe to your hands, and whether your Excellency has any particular request respecting the said work. I am, with the greatest deference and esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

WILLIAM GODDARD*.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 4 July, 1785.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

This letter will be delivered by the celebrated M. Houdon, who is going, for your statue, to America.

* See the answer to this letter in Washington's Writings, Vol. IX. p. 107.

Nothing but the love of glory and his respect for you could induce him to cross the seas, as his business here far exceeds his leisure; and his numerous and gratified friends make him very happy at home. These circumstances I mention as a farther recommendation to your attentions. As I am writing by the same opportunity, I will only add a tribute of the tender love and grateful respect, [with which] I have the honor to be, my dear General, yours,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Paris, 10 July, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Houdon would much sooner have had the honor of attending you, but for a spell of sickness which long gave us to despair of his recovery, and from which he is but recently recovered. He comes now for the purpose of lending the aid of his art to transmit you to posterity. He is without rivalship in it, being employed from all parts of Europe in whatever is capital. He has had a difficulty to withdraw himself from the Empress of Russia; a difficulty, however, which arose from a desire to show her respect, but which never gave him a moment's hesitation about his present voyage, which he considers as promising the brightest chapter of his history. I have spoke of him as an artist only; but I can assure you also that, as a man, he is disinterested, generous, and candid, and panting after glory; in every circumstance, meriting your good opinion. He will have need to see you much while he shall have the honor of being with you, which you can the more

freely admit, as his eminence and merit give him admittance into genteel societies here. He will need an interpreter. I supposed you could procure some person from Alexandria, who might be agreeable to yourself, to perform this office. He brings with him a subordinate workman or two, who, of course, will associate with their own class only.

On receiving the favor of your letter of February 25th, I communicated the plan for clearing the Potomac, with the act of Assembly, and an explanation of its probable advantages, to Mr. Brand, whose acquaintance and connection with the moneyed men here, enabled him best to try its success. He has done so; but to no end. I inclose you his letter. I am pleased to hear, in the mean time, that the subscriptions were likely to be filled up at home. This is infinitely better, and will render the proceedings of the Companies much more harmonious. I place an immense importance to my own country on this channel of connection with the new Western States. I shall continue uneasy till I know that Virginia has assumed her ultimate boundary to the westward. The late example of the State of Franklin separated from North Carolina, increases my anxieties for Virginia.

The confidence you are so good as to place in me, on the subject of the interest lately given you by Virginia, in the Potomac Company, is very flattering to me. But it is distressing, also, inasmuch as, to deserve it, it obliges me to give my whole opinion. My wishes to see you made perfectly easy, by receiving those just returns of gratitude from our country, to which you are entitled, would induce me to be contented with saying, what is a certain truth, that the world would be pleased with seeing them heaped on you, and would consider your re-

ceiving them as no derogation from your reputation. But I must own that the declining them will add to that reputation, as it will show that your motives have been pure and without alloy. This testimony, however, is not wanting either to those who know you or who do not. I must therefore repeat, that I think the receiving them will not, in the least, lessen the respect of the world, if, from any circumstances, they would be convenient to you. The candor of my communication will find its justification, I know, with you.

A tolerable certainty of peace leaves little interesting in the way of intelligence. Holland and the Emperor will be quiet. If any thing is brewing, it is between the latter and the Porte. Nothing in prospect, as yet, from England. We shall bring them, however, to decision, now that Mr. Adams is received there. I wish much to hear that the canal through the Dismal [Swamp] is resumed.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Sarreguemines, on the French Frontier,
14 July, 1785.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Before I leave the borders of France, I wish once more to remind you of your absent friend, and to let you know that I am well, and just beginning my German march. I have been lately visiting some French towns, where I spoke a great deal about American trade, and fully answered the views I had the honor to communicate in a former letter.

Now I am on my way to the Deux Ponts, where resides our friend, the future Elector of Bavaria; to Cassel, where I shall see again the Hessian regiments; to Berlin, where I am told Lord Cornwallis is also going. From there, I shall wait on the King of Prussia, on his grand manoeuvres in Silesia; visit Saxony; see the Austrian camp in Bohemia; pay my respects to the Emperor at Vienna; return to Berlin, where grand manoeuvres are to take place at the end of September; and, after I have on my way examined all the fields of battle, I shall return through Holland, and be again in Paris by the middle of October.

This letter, my dear General, goes with our old friend Dr. Franklin, who, I hope, will be received with that respect he so much deserves. It will be forwarded by his grandson, a very deserving young man, who wishes being introduced by me to you; and I beg leave to recommend him to your attentions. He has been much employed in public; got nothing by it; and, as the Doctor loves him better than any thing in the world, I think he ought to have the satisfaction to see him noticed by Congress. You will oblige me to let them know that I spoke to you my mind about it.

You remember an idea, which I imparted to you three years ago. I am going to try it in the French colony of Cayenne, but will write more fully on the subject in my other letters. Nothing new now in the political world. War is far at a distance. Adieu, my beloved General. My most affectionate respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me to the young ones, to my Aid George, to Mr. Lund, all our friends, and particularly to Mrs. Stuart. You know my heart, my dear General, and I need not add the

assurances of the filial love, respect, and gratitude,
I have the honor to be with,

Your devoted friend,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. Gouvion is going with me, and has the honor to present his respects to you.

FROM NOAH WEBSTER, JR.

Baltimore, 18 July, 1785.

SIR,

If the request I am now to make should need any apology but such as will naturally be suggested by its own importance, I am sure it will find it in your candor.

The favorable reception of my grammatical publication in the Northern States, has induced me to offer them for sale in the Southern; and I am happy to find they meet the approbation of those literary gentlemen with whom I have conversed on my tour to Charleston. The performance may possibly appear, at first thought, trifling; and yet, as containing the rudiments of our native language, the foundation of our other scientific improvements, it doubtless ought to be considered as extremely important. If you, Sir, view it in the latter point of light, and have taken the trouble to examine the general plan and execution, your name, as a patron of the Institute, would be very influential in introducing it to notice in these States.

I should be very unhappy to make any request, a compliance with which would require the least sacri-

fice from so distinguished a character; but if it can be done, consistently with the sentiments of your heart and the delicacy of your feelings, the addition of your name, Sir, to the catalogue of patrons, will, I vainly hope, be a continuation of your public utility, and will certainly be esteemed a singular favor conferred on one who is anxious to improve the literature and advance the prosperity of this country.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

NOAH WEBSTER, JR.

FROM WILLIAM GRAYSON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 25 July, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

The inclosed letters were handed to me the other day by young Mr. Adams, son of Mr. John Adams, who has arrived in the last packet; and, no private opportunity offering, I do myself the honor of transmitting them by post.

Congress are informed, by a letter from Mr. Adams, that he has been introduced to the King of Great Britain in due form, and received as a public Minister from the United States of America. They have also received from the Commissioners for forming commercial treaties, projects of two treaties; the one with the King of Prussia, the other with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The former, it is expected, is signed before this by the American Ministers. Don Diego de Gardoqui, who has plenipotentiary powers, has been received; and Congress have passed a commission to Mr. Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to negotiate with him.

Congress have lately paid great attention to the proposed alteration of the ninth article of the Confederation, and it has been debated several times. I did myself the honor to inclose this paper some time ago. There seem to be three opinions. Some are for the alteration as reported, provided eleven, and not nine States, have the exercise of the powers. Others are for forming a act, and submitting the same to the States. A third opinion is against any change whatever. I expect, after the subject has been thoroughly investigated, it will, by consent, be put off till the members have had an opportunity of consulting the Legislatures. The requisition for the current year is nearly finished. By this the States are called upon to pay three millions of dollars, that is, one million in specie, and two millions in interest on liquidated certificates; the whole containing a provision as well for the purposes of government as for the interest on the foreign and domestic debt.

I beg leave to inclose propositions respecting the coinage of gold, silver, and copper, which are at present before Congress.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

WILLIAM GRAYSON.

FROM JAMES WARREN.

Milton, near Boston, 2 September, 1785.

SIR,

When I review the scenes I passed through in the course of a revolution, which will always distinguish the present age, I reflect with great pleasure on those which took place when I was [honored] with

your particular friendship and confidence. No man has preserved a more uniform esteem and respect for you than I have; and if it is my fault that a correspondence once begun was not continued, it was more my misfortune, and the same cause which produced both, apologizes for the first, and in my mind has alleviated the last. I did fear giving you trouble and interruption, when I knew you was engaged in matters of great magnitude, importance, and difficulty. My ambition then gave place to the feelings of regard and friendship. Mrs. Washington's letter to Mrs. Warren gives me the pleasure of thinking I still possess your recollection, and encourages me to write to you, at a time when you have more leisure.

The war has ended with great glory and advantage to our country; and while I congratulate you and America on this event, I am sorry to have so many reasons to deplore that want of justice, public spirit, and good policy, which are necessary to make a proper improvement of them. Our finances are in a wretched situation, and public credit of course on a bad footing; and these may finally have a fatal effect on the Union, upon which every thing depends. I am fully convinced that the abilities of this country, properly exerted, are quite equal to the discharge of the present debt, and the provision for their future security; and I wish, exceedingly, to see some general measures adopted for those purposes. For my own part, I could be willing to live in a country, so amply provided with the necessaries and conveniences of life, as this is, with little or no foreign trade; but commerce has become so necessary to the power, greatness, and reputation of every country, that it seems to claim our particular attention, at least in a degree subordinate to that of agriculture. And I do

not see how it can be conducted, without being subject to some general direction; nor, in that case, can I conceive it can be cultivated to advantage, loaded and fettered with those illiberal duties and restrictions, calculated to raise a revenue, which now in various degrees employ the several Legislatures, and distract the whole system.

It is, notwithstanding, some consolation, that, however the politics of America are conducted, if not bad in the extreme, the nature of things, and the prevailing disposition for improvements, will make us a great and probably happy people. Your great plan for opening a large and extensive inland navigation in Virginia, will be to future generations a standing monument of the spirit and enterprise of the present age. And while they enjoy the blessings and advantages derived from it, they must recollect with gratitude those who contrived and executed it. After all, agriculture is the great basis upon which the whole fabric of greatness and happiness, however constructed and put together, must stand; and it affords no small pleasure to see such a spirit of inquiry on that subject prevailing. A laudable example is seen in Philadelphia. Some such measures are thought of here; and, although I hear nothing of that particular kind from Virginia, I presume Mount Vernon can exhibit many instances of improvement, beneficial to the country.

I have always flattered myself with hopes of seeing you in the Massachusetts after the return of peace. May I still expect that pleasure? Mrs. Warren joins me in respects and compliments to your lady and yourself.

I am, Sir, &c., &c.

JAMES WARREN.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Vienna, 3 September, 1785.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

This letter has been requested of me as an introduction for M. André Michaux, whom, for many reasons, I am happy to present. In the first place I know you will be glad to know a man whose genius has raised him among the scientific people, and who, as a botanist, has, at his own expense, travelled through countries very little known. He now is sent by the King to America, in order to know the trees, the seeds, and every kind of natural production, whose growth may be either curious or useful; and for them the king will set up a nursery at a country seat of his, which he is very fond of. I am the more pleased with the plan, as it opens a new channel of intercourse and mutual good offices between the two nations. I beg, my dear General, you will patronize this gentleman, and I much want it to be said in France, that he has been satisfied with his reception in America.

I have been visiting the Prussian army, and now am in the Austrian capital. I had, but an hour ago, a long conversation with the Emperor upon the United States, and the American trade, in which I took care properly to answer his questions. Everywhere I enjoy the unspeakable pleasure to hear my beloved General spoken of with that respect he so well deserves.

Adieu, my dear General. My best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me to the young ones. Most respectfully and affectionately, yours,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM L. W. OTTO.

New York, 1 October, 1785.

SIR,

The Court having thought proper to promote M. de Marbois to the Intendancy of Hispaniola, has, at the same time, intrusted me with the place he had the honor to occupy, near the United States of America. It is peculiarly flattering to me, in this circumstance, to have the advantage of a former acquaintance with your Excellency; and I take hold of the first opportunity to recall myself to your kind remembrance.

On my return to France, I have been a witness of the anxiety, with which all orders of citizens expected your arrival there. The Court equally expressed the warmest desire to receive a man, who has excited the admiration of the present, and will deserve that of future, ages. Many personal friends you would have met with, in a country so closely united with your own, and which seems to be equally indebted to your exertions for the tranquillity and happiness it now enjoys. Amongst these, the Chevalier de la Luzerne is perhaps the most devoted to your Excellency. He enjoined me particularly to remember him to you, and to assure you that on his return to America, which will probably take place next spring, he will be extremely flattered to renew his former intimacy. If, in the mean while, I can be of any [use] to you at New York, or in France, I beg of you to dispose of my feeble services, and to be persuaded that, in affording me such an opportunity, you confer upon me the most flattering favor.

With great respect, &c., &c.,

L. W. OTTO.

FROM BENJAMIN TUPPER.

Pittsburg, 20 October, 1785.

DEAR GENERAL,

We have just returned to this place from an unsuccessful attempt to survey the western territory. Colonel Parker, who will deliver this, will be able to inform your Excellency of the reasons of our not succeeding agreeably to our wishes. I am greatly charmed with the country. It exceeds any I ever saw, and I know of nothing that will prevent me commencing one of the first adventures in that delightful country. I intend, on my return, to consult with General Putnam, and no doubt we shall fall upon some plan to engage a number of our friends to join in a scheme so interesting as that of settling in that garden of America. One thing that will induce me to settle in that country, is that your Excellency promises to honor us with a visit, which I shall set more by than the interest I possess in Massachusetts.

I hope these will find your Excellency in possession of all the happiness human nature is capable of. Colonel Sherman, Captain Martin, and the surveyors with us, desire their most dutiful regards to your Excellency. Please to present mine to your lady, and to Mr. Washington and his lady.

Dear General, some of your friends may exceed me in expressions of regard, but believe me when I assure your Excellency that no one can exceed in affection,

Your Excellency's, &c., &c.,

BENJAMIN TUPPER.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Richmond, 11 November, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of the 29th ultimo on Thursday. That by Colonel Lee had been previously delivered. Your letter for the Assembly was laid before them yesterday. I have reason to believe that it was received with every sentiment which could correspond with yours. Nothing passed, from which any conjecture could be formed as to the objects which would be most pleasing for the appropriation of the fund. The disposition is, I am persuaded, much stronger to acquiesce in your choice, whatever it may be, than to lead or anticipate it; and I see no inconveniency in your taking time for a choice that will please yourself. The letter was referred to a Committee, which will, no doubt, make such report as will give effect to your wishes.

Our session commenced, very inauspiciously, with a contest for the Chair, which was followed by a rigid scrutiny into Mr. Harrison's election in his county. He gained the Chair by a majority of six votes, and retained his seat by a majority of still fewer. His residence was the point on which the latter question turned. Doctor Lee's election was questioned on a similar point, and was also established; but it was held to be vitiated by his acceptance of a lucrative post under the United States. The House have engaged, with some alacrity, in the consideration of the Revised Code, prepared by Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Pendleton, and Mr. Wythe. The present temper promises an adoption of it, in substance. The greatest danger arises from its length, compared with the patience of the members. If it is persisted in, it must exclude

several matters which are of moment; but, I hope, only for the present Assembly. The pulse of the House of Delegates was felt on Thursday with regard to a general manumission, by a petition presented on that subject. It was rejected without dissent; but not without an avowed patronage of its principles by sundry respectable members. A motion was made to throw it under the table, which was treated with as much indignation, on one side, as the petition itself was on the other. There are several petitions before the House against any step towards freeing the slaves, and even praying for a repeal of the law which licenses particular manumissions.

The merchants of several of our towns have made representations on the distresses of our commerce, which have raised the question whether relief shall be attempted by a reference to Congress, or by measures within our own compass. On a pretty full discussion it was determined, by a large majority, that the power over trade ought to be vested in Congress, under certain qualifications. If the qualifications suggested, and no others, should be annexed, I think they will not be subversive of the principle, though they will, no doubt, lessen its utility. The Speaker, Mr. M. Smith, and Mr. Braxton, are the champions against Congress. Mr. Thurston and Mr. White have since come in; and, I fancy, I may set down both as auxiliaries. They are, however, not a little puzzled by the difficulty of substituting any practicable regulations within ourselves. Mr. Braxton proposed two, that did not much aid his side of the question. The first was, that all British vessels from the West Indies should be excluded from our ports; the second, that no merchant should carry on trade here until he should have been a resident years.

Unless some plan, freer from objection, can be devised for this State, its patrons will be reduced clearly to the dilemma of acceding to a general one, or leaving our trade under all its present embarrassments. There has been some little skirmishing, on the ground of public faith, which leads me to hope that its friends have less to fear than was surmised. The assize and port bills have not yet been awakened. The Senate will make a House to-day for the first time.

With the greatest respect and regard, I have the honor to be, dear Sir, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, Jr.

P. S. Inclosed, herewith, are two Reports from the Commissioners for examining the head of James River, &c., and the ground between the waters of Elizabeth River and North Carolina; also, a sensible pamphlet said to be written by St. George Tucker, of this State.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

23 November, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Major Fairly is just setting out on a visit to you; I believe, on some business relating to the Cincinnati. The Society of this State met some short time since, and took into consideration the proposed alterations in the original frame of the Institution. Some were strenuous for adhering to the old Constitution, a few for adopting the new, and many for a middle line. This disagreement of opinion, and the consideration that the different State Societies pursuing different courses, some adopting the alterations entire, others

rejecting them in the same way, others adopting in part and rejecting in part, might beget confusion and defeat good purposes,—induced a proposal, which was unanimously agreed to, that a Committee should be appointed to prepare and lay before the Society a circular letter, expressive of the sense of the Society on the different alterations proposed, and recommending the giving powers to a general meeting of the Cincinnati to make such alterations as might be thought advisable, to obviate objections and promote the interests of the Society. I believe there will be no difficulty in agreeing to change the present mode of continuing the Society; but it appears to be the wish of our members, that some other mode may be defined and substituted, and that it might not be left to the uncertainty of legislative provision. We object, too, to putting the funds under legislative direction. Indeed, it appears to us, the Legislatures will not, at present, be inclined to give us any sanction.

I am of the Committee, and I cannot but flatter myself that, when the object is better digested and more fully explained, it will meet your approbation.

The poor Baron is still soliciting Congress, and has every prospect of indigence before him. He has his imprudences; but, upon the whole, he has rendered valuable services; and his merits, and the reputation of the country, alike demand that he should not be left to suffer want. If there could be any mode by which your influence could be employed in his favor, by writing to your friends in Congress, or otherwise, the Baron and his friends would be under great obligations to you. I have the honor to be, with sincere esteem,

Your obedient and humble servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Boston, 4 January, 1786.

I have since my return, my dear General, been looking, agreeably to your request, among my young friends, to see whether I could find among them one who would answer your purpose as a private Secretary, &c., &c. I have at last found a Mr. Lear, who supports the character of a gentleman and a scholar. He was educated at Cambridge, in this State. Since he left college he has been in Europe and in different parts of this Continent. It is said that he is a good master of language; he reads French, and writes an exceeding good letter; that his abilities are surpassed by few, and his integrity by none. From the best information I can obtain, I am induced to believe that you will find him the man you described. For a more particular account of character and intellect, I beg leave to refer you to the inclosed letter from my son to me. He has an intimate knowledge of Mr. Lear. If you should now be in want of his services, he will, by the first opportunity, join your Excellency's family.

The Council of the American Academy have had a meeting here this day. Among other communications we had a very interesting one from the Reverend Mr. West, of Dartmouth, a gentleman of great abilities and extensive information. He wrote on the subject of extracting, by a simple machine, without the use of fire, fresh water from salt. He informed the Academy that he was admitted into the secret by the original inventor of the operation, and that they are now attempting some improvements upon it. However, thus far they had reduced the matter to a

certainly, that three gallons of good fresh water could be extracted from a certain quantity of sea water (I think a barrel) in seventy or eighty minutes. He hoped, by some little amendments they were attempting, that double that quantity would be produced in the same time. Should they never improve upon the present discovery, it must be considered as a very important one. With great esteem and regard,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Richmond, 4 January, 1786.

SIR,

Inclosed I return to you the papers which accompanied your favor of the 25th ultimo. It did not reach me until yesterday morning, when I submitted the whole to the Assembly. But the approach of the session to an end, forbids them to take up new business. The day after to-morrow is fixed for their departure, and much of what is now before them must be left incomplete. I am therefore desired, by the Speaker of the Delegates, to send the papers to you, and to assure you that the Assembly are fully sensible of your readiness to embrace every opportunity to improve the manufactures of our country. You know, Sir, that the Executive cannot give an establishment, or even aid, to M. de la Vallée, without the approbation of the Legislature.

Although I was compelled, by duty, to lay before the Council your answer to my notification of your appointment to Philadelphia, I was happy to find them concurring with me in the propriety of en-

treating you not to decide on a refusal immediately. Perhaps the obstacles now in view may be removed before May; and the nomination of a successor, if necessary at all, will be as effectually made some time hence as now. Perhaps, too (and indeed I fear the event), every other consideration may seem of little weight, when compared with the crisis which may then hang over the United States. I hope, therefore, that you will excuse me for holding up your letter for the present, and waiting until time shall disclose the result of the commotions now prevailing. I have the honor to be, Sir,

With the most perfect esteem and respect, &c.,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 10 February, 1786.

The inclosed, my dear General, is a vocabulary which the Empress of Russia has requested me to have filled up with Indian names, as she has ordered a universal dictionary to be made of all languages. It would greatly oblige her to collect the words she sends, translated into the several idioms of the nations on the banks of the Ohio. Presley Neville, and Morgan, at Fort Pitt, and General Muhlenberg, in Fayette county, and our other friends, would undertake it for us, and would be very attentive to accuracy. I beg your pardon, my dear General, for the trouble I give you, but have been so particularly applied to that I cannot dispense with paying great attention to the business.

This goes with so long an epistle of mine, that I

shall only present you here with my best love and wishes; and I am, my dear General,

Your respectful and tender friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 16 February, 1786.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

You desired to hear from me, now and then, when I left Virginia. I obey your wishes with pleasure, and must assure you that I continue to feel the same unabating zeal to administer to your happiness which my public duty formerly commanded from me. I wish that my communications may be always agreeable. I apprehend your solicitude for the honor and prosperity of a nation formed under your auspices, will illy relish intelligence ominous of its destruction. But, so circumstanced is the Federal Government, that its death cannot be very far distant, unless immediate and adequate exertions are made by the several States.

The period is hurrying on, when no longer delay can be permitted. The late returns from the Continental Receivers, in the different States, prove unanimity in one point among the members of the Union, — no money. Congress, impressed with the lamentable effects which await the United States, from their adherence to temporary and disunited exertions, again have addressed the States. I inclose it. If success attends, we may divert the evils which menace our existence, and may still enjoy that happiness which we so arduously contended for. But, should the same supineness continue in our counsels, and jealousy, in-

stead of patriotism, direct the measures of our Governments, consequences most distressing must certainly ensue. Part of the principal of our foreign loans is due next year, and no certain means yet devised to pay even the interest.

Our agents have arrived in Morocco and Algiers, and we have some hopes that their negotiations may be successful.

It is very doubtful, how our Commissioners may succeed with the Indians. We have too much reason to fear a war, which, among other evils, will increase our finance embarrassments. People here are very inquisitive about the progress of the Potomac navigation. The moment that business wears the prospect of certainty, rich emigrants from all the Eastern States will flock to our towns. The Assembly of this State are in session, and will emit two hundred thousand pounds in paper. They are violent enemies to the impost; and, I fear, even the impending and approaching dangers to the existence of the Union will not move them. Please to present my respects to Mrs. Washington, and accept the best wishes of

HENRY LEE, JR.

FROM JOHN JAY.

New York, 2 March, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

At and for some time after the arrival of your kind and friendly letter by Mr. Taylor, official business obliged me to postpone writing the letters due to my private correspondents. In December, a young man, under the influence of more important advisers,

made an attack in the papers, which rendered the publication of my correspondence with him expedient. The first edition being replete with errors of the press, a second became indispensable; and, from the moment of the attack, I concluded to delay answering your letter until I could transmit with it a proper state of facts. A new edition has just been completed, and I have the honor of inclosing a copy of it with this.

Now, my dear Sir, let me tell you, and very sincerely, that no letter since my return has given me more pleasure than yours. As civilities, like true and counterfeit coins, are sometimes difficult to distinguish, and as commendation, having no intrinsic value, borrows the chief of its worth from the merit of those who bestow it, I feel, on this occasion, all the satisfaction which can result from approbation under the most advantageous circumstances. An apprehension that this letter may not reach the post-office in time, presses me not to enlarge at present. Mrs. Jay, whose best wishes you enjoy, desires me to tell you so, and, with me, requests the favor of you to present the like to Mrs. Washington.

With perfect esteem and attachment, I am, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Richmond, 2 March, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

The delay which has hitherto occurred in transmitting to you the inclosed proceedings, will be ascribed, I hope, to its true causes; one of which will be found in my last letter, and the other, in the daily

expectation of Mr. Ross's visit to Mount Vernon, in pursuance of our resolution of the 8th of December, 1785. You may possibly be surprised, that a work, which has already expended a considerable sum of money, should be delineated in so few words as the copies now sent contain. But I beg leave to inform you, that we have detailed, in the execution, almost the whole of the resolutions.

For example; we have procured the ascertainment of a precise point to which the navigation is to be extended, Crow's Ferry being now established as such. We are authorized to borrow money at six per cent., and to extend the number of shares. Inexperienced as we were, we yet conceived that our duty called for an examination of the ground between Richmond and Westham. The difficulties seemed greater than we at first apprehended. As soon as the report is prepared by a more skilful hand than we affect to be, it shall be forwarded to you.

The old books of subscriptions are not complete, as I supposed when I wrote to you last. Seven shares are still unoccupied, of which we shall reserve the five which you wished for yourself. It was impossible to engage any other labor than that of blacks; and this necessity has obliged us to bring the laborers into actual service earlier, perhaps, than we should have done in the present state of our imperfect knowledge of canals. But the subscribers would have been dissatisfied, had we not begun in the course of this year; and negroes, you know, Sir, must be hired in January at farthest.

Concerning our progress in this great business, our plans, and future expectations, we beg you to inquire of James Harris, our Manager, who will deliver this letter. He is a quaker, of good character as a man,

and a mechanic, formed by nature for the management of water, when applied to mills. He has added nothing to his natural turn by the view of any great works. We therefore request, if you see no impropriety, that you would give him such a passport to the Potomac works, as will enable him to get a thorough insight into what is there projected. You perceive that Mr. Ross was originally intended to be sent to Mount Vernon for this purpose; but he has been, for a length of time, under a severe disease, and is not yet restored. The office of subordinate Manager, mentioned in one of the resolutions, does not exist; it being swallowed up in that of Mr. Harris. It is not improbable that Mr. Harris may continue his journey to the Susquehanna Canal. If so, we shall thank you to furnish him with a certificate of being employed by the James River Company, in any manner which may appear most likely to introduce him into an acquaintance with those of that scheme who may be most intelligent.

Thus, my dear Sir, I have written to you, at the desire of my brethren in office, a tedious account of our operations. Permit me, therefore, to return to the contemplation of private friendship, and to assure you that I am always,

With the greatest respect and esteem, yours, &c.,
EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM JOHN JAY.

New York, 16 March, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

Under the same cover with my letter to you of the 2d instant, I transmitted a pamphlet, in which I

have since remarked the errors mentioned in the inclosed printed paper.

Although you have wisely retired from public employments, and calmly view, from the temple of fame, the various exertions of that sovereignty and independence which Providence has enabled you to be so greatly and gloriously instrumental in securing to your country, yet I am persuaded you cannot view them with the eye of an unconcerned spectator. Experience has pointed out errors in our National Government, which call for correction, and which threaten to blast the fruit we expected from our "Tree of Liberty." The Convention, proposed by Virginia, may do some good, and would perhaps do more, if it comprehended more objects. An opinion begins to prevail, that a General Convention for revising the articles of Confederation would be expedient. Whether the people are yet ripe for such a measure, or whether the system proposed to be attained by it, is only to be expected from calamity and commotion, is difficult to ascertain. I think we are in a delicate situation, and a variety of considerations and circumstances give me uneasiness. It is in contemplation to take measures for forming a General Convention. The plan is not matured. If it should be well concerted, and take effect, I am fervent in my wishes that it may comport with the line of life you have marked out for yourself, to favor your country with your counsels on such an important and *single* occasion. I suggest this merely as a hint for consideration; and am, with the highest respect and esteem,

Yours, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

FROM WILLIAM GRAYSON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 27 May, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I should have done myself the honor of writing to you sooner, if any thing had occurred at this place worth communicating. There has been a great dearth of foreign news, and, till within a short time, the representation has been so thin as to render it impracticable for Congress to undertake any matter of importance, although there are many which require their serious attention. Of late, there has been a tolerably full representation; but the time of Congress has been chiefly taken up with an investigation of the Connecticut cession of western territory.

That State, some time ago, offered to cede all her claim to western territory within the following limits;—beginning one hundred and twenty miles westward of the Pennsylvania line, at the beginning of the forty-second degree, extending north as far as two minutes of the forty-third, west to the Mississippi, the meanders thereof the same breadth; east to the beginning, reserving out of this cession the one hundred and twenty miles between the ceded lands and the Pennsylvania line, with the jurisdiction of the same. This cession was at first much opposed, but Congress have at length agreed to accept it, whenever the Delegates of that State shall be authorized to make a proper deed; the consequence of which is, I apprehend, a clear loss of about six millions of acres to the United States, which had been already ceded by Virginia and New York; for the Assembly of Connecticut, now sitting, will unquestionably open a Land-Office, and the Federal Constitution has not given a Court in this instance.

The advocates for this measure urged, in favor of its adoption, that the claim of a powerful State, although unsupported by right, was, under present circumstances, a disagreeable thing, and that sacrifices ought to be made for the public tranquillity, as well as to acquire an indisputable title to the residue; that Connecticut would settle it immediately with emigrants well disposed to the Union, who would form a barrier not only against the British, but the Indian tribes upon the Wabash and Lake Michigan; that the thick settlement they would immediately form, would enhance the value of the adjacent country, and facilitate emigrations thereto.

Some alterations have been made lately in the land ordinance. The Surveyors are now allowed to survey by the magnetic meridian, and are limited to the territory lying southward of the east and west line, as described in the said ordinance; the navigable waters and the carrying-places between them are made common highways, and forever free to the Atlantic States, as well as any new States that may be created, without any tax or impost therefor. An attempt was made to change the system altogether, but negatived. Indeed, the Eastern States, and some others, are so much attached to it, that I am satisfied no material alteration can ever be effected. The Geographer and Surveyors have directions to proceed without delay to carry the ordinance into execution, which, I presume, they will execute, provided the Indians will permit them, of which, however, I have very great doubts.

Mr. Adams has informed Congress, by letters lately received, that he has made a demand of the posts, and has been refused. The Marquis of Carmarthen has given, as a reason for the refusal, that many of

the States in the Union have violated the treaty with respect to the debts; that the King of Great Britain will comply with his engagements, when the States shall show a disposition to perform their part of the contract respecting this matter. The States not included in the accusation are New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware. I beg leave to inform you, confidentially, that there does not appear, at present, the most distant prospect of forming a treaty either with Spain or Great Britain; that the treaty with Portugal is in a proper train; that peace can be procured with Tripoli and Tunis on reasonable terms, that is, for thirty-three thousand guineas each; and probably with Morocco and Algiers for double that sum, respectively, if money can be loaned in Holland for that purpose. The late treaty with Algiers cost Spain one million three hundred thousand dollars.

My compliments to Mrs. Washington; and I remain, with the highest respect and esteem, &c.,

WILLIAM GRAYSON.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Philadelphia, 27 June, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

Being deputed, by the Church Convention of New York, to attend a general one, convened here, I brought with me your obliging letter of the 18th ultimo, that I might devote the first leisure hour to the pleasure of answering it.

Congress having freed the papers, of which the inclosed are copies, from injunctions of secrecy, and permitted the Delegates to make and send extracts from

them to their different States, I think myself at liberty to transmit copies to you. These papers have been referred to me. Some of the facts are inaccurately stated, and improperly colored; but it is too true that the treaty has been violated. On such occasions, I think it better fairly to confess and correct errors, than attempt to deceive ourselves and others by fallacious, though plausible, palliations and excuses. To oppose popular prejudices, to censure the proceedings, and expose the improprieties of States, is an unpleasant task; but it must be done.

Our affairs seem to lead to some crisis; some revolution; something that I cannot foresee, or conjecture. I am uneasy and apprehensive; more so than during the war. Then we had a fixed object, and, though the means and time of attaining it were often problematical, yet I did firmly believe that we should ultimately succeed, because I was convinced that justice was with us. The case is now altered. We are going and doing wrong; and therefore I look forward to evils and calamities, but without being able to guess at the instrument, nature, or measure of them. That we shall again recover, and things again go well, I have no doubt; such a variety of circumstances would not almost miraculously have combined to liberate and make us a nation, for transient and unimportant purposes. I therefore believe we are yet to become a great and respectable people; but when, or how, the spirit of prophecy only can discern.

There doubtless is much reason to think and to say, that we are wofully, and, in many instances wickedly, misled. Private rage for property suppresses public considerations; and personal, rather than national interests, have become the great objects of attention. Representative bodies will ever be faithful

copies of their originals, and generally exhibit a checkered assemblage of virtue and vice, of abilities and weakness. The mass of men are neither wise nor good; and the virtue, like the other resources, of a country, can only be drawn to a point by strong circumstances ably managed, or strong government ably administered. New governments have not the aid of habit and hereditary respect; and, being generally the result of preceding tumult and confusion, do not immediately acquire stability or strength. Besides, in times of commotion, some men will gain confidence and importance, who merit neither; and who, like political mountebanks, are less solicitous about the health of the credulous crowd, than about making the most of their nostrums and prescriptions.

New York was rendered less federal by the opinions of the late President of Congress. This is a singular, though not unaccountable fact. Indeed, human actions are seldom inexplicable. What I most fear is, that the better kind of people (by which I mean the people who are orderly and industrious, who are content with their situations, and not uneasy in their circumstances) will be led, by the insecurity of property, the loss of confidence in their rulers, and the want of public faith and rectitude, to consider the charms of liberty as imaginary and delusive. A state of uncertainty and fluctuation must disgust and alarm such men, and prepare their minds for almost any change that may promise them quiet and security.

Your letter to Mrs. Macaulay Graham is on the way to her, inclosed in one from me to Mr. Adams. I forget the name of the vessel. Be pleased to make my compliments to Mrs. Washington; and be assured that I am, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Dear Sir, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

FROM HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 7 August, 1786.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I had the pleasure of hearing from you last week, and have complied with your wishes respecting the china. No conveyance at present offers for Alexandria; but every day presents one to Norfolk, from which place the correspondence up your river is frequent. I intend, unless I should meet with a vessel for Potomac, to send the box to Colonel Parker, naval officer at Norfolk, and ask his special attention to forwarding it to Alexandria or Mount Vernon. At the same time, I will send a small box put into my care by Mr. Gardoqui. I have had it some time, and wanted to know your intention as to the china, that the same conveyance might take both. If you have an opportunity to convey my Young (as the books are useless to you) to Mr. R. H. Lee, you will oblige me by doing it.

The Mississippi business is very important, and full of difficulty. In the debilitated condition of the Federal Government, it is unwise to wish the offence of any part of the empire, unless to attain great good. My mind has no doubt of the extensive good consequences that would result to the Union from a commercial connection with Spain; and I am also clear that, in agreeing to the occlusion of the navigation of the Mississippi, we give in fact nothing; for, the moment our western country becomes populous and capable, they will seize by force what may have been yielded by treaty. Till that period, the river cannot be used but by permission of Spain, whose exclusive system of policy never will grant such per-

mission. Then, to be sure, we only give what we cannot use. But the source of all the evils which press these States, is the inefficiency of the Federal Government. This cannot be altered and remedied, but by consent of the States. Already, in every State, the amplification of the powers of the Union has too many enemies. Should, therefore, a treaty take place between Congress and Spain, occluding for a term the navigation of the Mississippi, in return for advantages very great, but not so great to the whole as to a part, I apprehend it would give such a text for popular declaimers, that the great object, namely, bracing the Federal Government, may be thwarted, and thus, in pursuing a lesser, we lose a greater good.

I forwarded, by the last post, for public information, some intelligence lately received from Mr. Jefferson; and I have also sent an extract of a letter from Mr. Kendall, from Algiers. These two papers comprehend all the news here. I transmit the Gazette of the day. Bills on London, at sixty days' sight, fluctuate in their value from six to seven per cent. premium. The cost of the china is one hundred and fifty dollars, besides the incidental charge of freight to Norfolk, which cannot be much. My best wishes for the health and happiness of Mount Vernon, in which Mrs. Lee unites.

Most respectfully yours,

HENRY LEE.

FROM CATHARINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

Knightsbridge, near London, 10 October, 1786.

SIR,

By some of those unlucky incidents, which attend

the passage across the Atlantic, the letter with which you honored me, dated January 16, did not reach me till the latter end of June last.

There are few persons in Europe who would not be highly flattered by a correspondence with General Washington; but, when this gratification, which, from the consideration of popular eminence, must be felt by every vulgar mind, is enlarged by a genuine taste for moral excellence, it raises the most lively sentiments of self-complacency and gratitude.

When I returned from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia, I had the pleasure of seeing a portrait, which bore the strongest resemblance to the original of any I had seen. If you favor me with another letter, you will do me great pleasure if you will inform me whether Mr. Pine is much advanced in his grand design of portraying the capital events of the civil wars, and whether he is likely to succeed in his attempt.

Give me leave, Sir, to return you our thanks for those obliging and benevolent sentiments with which your letter is replete. We present our best respects to Mrs. Washington; our best compliments and good wishes to the amiable pair who have united their fortunes since our departure from America; and our love to the little people, who, we sincerely hope, will both, in their different characters, afford an ample recompense for the benevolent care and culture they have received.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

CATHARINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

FROM HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 11 October, 1786.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

In the full confidence you receive my letters as testimonials of my unceasing respect, and from a solicitude to acquaint you with all material contingencies in the administration of our national affairs, that you may be able to form your judgment on authentic documents, and, consequently, that your opinions, being bottomed on truth, may not fail to produce the most beneficial effects to our country, I again address you, and mean to confine myself to one subject, which will, I apprehend, soon become the topic of public debate. Among the defects which degrade the Constitution of the Federal Government, is the physical impossibility of secrecy in the sovereignty. Therefore, it is often necessary to make confidential communications, when they serve to correct the circulation of erroneous informations on subjects of national concern, which, in their nature, are secret, but, from the cause just mentioned, become public. Considering myself, therefore, at full liberty to give you a history of this business, I will do it with brevity.

We are told here that the decided difference which prevailed in Congress on the proposed treaty with Spain, is generally understood in every part of the Union; and it is suggested, that the project of the treaty will become the subject of deliberation in the Assembly of Virginia.

True it is, that this affair unfortunately produced an intemperance common in democratic bodies, and always injurious to the interest of the public; for, to judge wisely on systems and measures, the mind ought

to be free from prejudice and warmth, and influenced by a full, deliberate view of the general effects of such system and measures.

The Eastern States consider a commercial connection with Spain as the only remedy for the distresses which oppress their citizens; most of which, they say, flow from the decay of their commerce. Their Delegates have, consequently, zealously pressed the formation of this connection, as the only effectual mode to revive the trade of their country. In this opinion, they have been joined by two of the Middle States. On the other hand, Virginia has, with equal zeal, opposed the connection, because the project involves, expressly, the disuse of the navigation of the Mississippi for a given time, and eventually, they think, will sacrifice our right to it. The Delegation is under injunctions from the State on this subject. They have acted in obedience to their instructions, and, myself excepted, in conformity to their private sentiments. I confess that I am by no means convinced of the justness or policy of our instructions, and very much apprehend, unless they are repealed by the present Assembly, the fatal effects of discord in counsel will be experienced by the United States in a very high degree.

The project submitted by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs was founded, as well as I can recollect, on the following principles. First; the commerce between the United States and the King of Spain, to be founded on the principles of perfect reciprocity, which reciprocity to be diffused in all the sub-regulations. Secondly; the trade to be confined to his Catholic Majesty's European dominions. Thirdly; the *bonâ fide* manufactures and produce of the respective countries, imported into either, to be subject to the same duties

as are paid by the citizens and subjects of the two nations. Fourthly; a tariff to be established by Convention, within one year after the ratification of the treaty, ascertaining the necessary duties to be imposed. Fifthly; masts and timber, annually requisite for the navy of Spain, to be bought from the merchants of the United States in preference, provided they are equal in price and quality.

There are some other matters, which I forget. In consideration of the advantages of this treaty, the United States stipulate to forbear, for the term of the treaty, the use of the River Mississippi. The boundaries will be (in case of treaty) established, as fixed in the definitive treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain. The article of tobacco is excepted in the project, being the produce of Spanish colonies, and is to continue on the present footing, which is favorable.

Thus have I delineated to you the outlines of the proposed plan. Among the many arguments used by the advocates for the treaty, I will mention only one, which I think ought to be known. They say that the right of the navigation of the Mississippi is disputed; that the use of that right is now suspended, and cannot be possessed but by force or by treaty, and that a forbearance of the use, on our part, is a confirmation of our right; the use of which right will be in due time possessed, in consequence of the present project, without putting our claim to the issue of war, which is always precarious, and for which we are totally unprepared.

Should this matter come before our Assembly, much will depend on Mr. Mason's sentiments. So many reasons, founded on true policy, will arise in a full investigation of this subject, that I cannot but hope

that the State of Virginia will consider a treaty with Spain, on the principles of the project, essentially necessary to her political happiness, and to her commercial aggrandizement.

The sedition in Massachusetts is, in some degree, subsided, but is not, I fear, extinguished.

Colonel Monroe, who was an Aid in Lord Stirling's family, a Delegate from Virginia in Congress, will, in a few days, return home with his lady. He means to do himself the honor to pay his respects to Mount Vernon in his way. My best respects to Mrs. Washington, with, &c., &c.,

HENRY LEE, JR.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 26 October, 1786.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

To one who so tenderly loves you, who so happily enjoyed the times we have passed together, and who never, on any part of the globe, even in his own house, could feel himself so perfectly at home as in your family, it must be confessed that an irregular, lengthy correspondence is quite insufficient. I beseech you, in the name of our friendship, of that paternal concern of yours for my happiness, not to miss any opportunity to let me hear from my dear General.

I have been travelling through some garrison towns, in order to preserve the habit of seeing troops and their tactics. Now I am mostly at Fontainebleau, where the Court is residing for a few weeks. The inclosed letter from the Minister to Mr. Jefferson will, I hope, prove agreeable to the United States. Our

Committees will go on this winter, and I will endeavour to propose such measures as may be thought advantageous. Mr. Jefferson is a most able and respected representative, and such a man as makes me happy to be his Aid-de-camp. Congress have made a choice very favorable to their affairs.

The treaty of Commerce between France and England is made, but not yet ratified. They are to treat each other like the most favored European nation; so that America is safe. Newspapers will acquaint you with the Dutch quarrels. It is strange to see so many people so angry on so small a spot, without bloodshed. But parties are, at the same time, supported in their claims and cramped in their motions by the neighbouring powers. France sides with the patriots. The new King of Prussia interests himself in behalf of the Stadtholder, his brother-in-law. And so does England, underhand. But the republicans are so strong, and the Stadtholder is such a blockhead, that it will turn out to the advantage of the former. No present appearance of a war in Germany. The Russians and Turks are quarrelling, but will not so soon make a war. The Empress is going to Krimée, where it is said she will meet the Emperor. She had given me polite hints that I should go to Petersburg. I have answered with a demand of a permission to go to Krimée, which has been granted; so that, if the affair of the forts, which I think must be taken, does not more agreeably employ me, I will set out in the last days of February for Krimée, and return by Constantinople and the Archipelago. I will refer to the hints given in a former letter about those forts, which, if timely advertised, would carry me quite a different, and much more pleasing, course.

I have been so much affected, my dear General,

and so deeply mourn for the heavy loss which the United States, and ourselves particularly, have had to support, while our great and good friend, General Greene, has been snatched from a country to which he was an honor, that I feel a comfort in condoling with one who knew so well his value, and will, of course, so much have lamented the loss.

There is, between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, a diversity of opinion respecting the Algerines. Adams thinks a peace should be purchased from them. Mr. Jefferson finds it as cheap, and more honorable, to cruse against them. I incline to the latter opinion, and think it possible to form an alliance between the United States, Naples, Rome, Venice, Portugal, and some other powers, each giving a sum of money not very large, whereby a common armament may distress the Algerines into any terms. Congress ought to give Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams ample powers to stipulate, in their names, for such a confederacy.

You will be pleased to hear that I have great hopes to see the affairs of the Protestants in this Kingdom put on a better footing; not such, by far, as it ought to be; but much mended from the absurd and cruel laws of Louis XIV.

I hope your jackass, with two females, and a few pheasants and red partridges, have arrived safe.

Adieu, my dear General. My best and tenderest respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me to the one who was formerly Master Tub, and now must be a big boy; and also to the young ladies. Be pleased to pay my affectionate compliments to George and his lady; to Doctor and Mrs. Sheart, Doctor Craik, Doctor Griffith, your brothers; Mrs. Lewis; to your venerable mother; to all our friends;—and often think of your most devoted friend, your adopted son,

who, with all the affection and respect which you know are so deeply rooted in his heart, has the honor to be, my dear General, yours,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. A new instance of the goodness of the State of Virginia has been given me, by the placing of my bust at the Hotel de Ville of this city. The situation of the other bust will be the more pleasing to me, as, while it places me within the capitol of the State, I shall be eternally by the side of, and paying an everlasting homage to, the statue of my beloved General.

I have received the hams, and am much obliged to that kind attention of Mrs. Washington. The first was introduced three days ago, at a dinner composed of Americans, where our friend Chastellux had been invited. They arrived in the best order. Madame de Lafayette and the little family beg their best respects to Mrs. Washington and yourself.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Richmond, 1 November, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

I have been here too short a time, as yet, to have collected fully the politics of the session. In general, appearances are favorable. On the question for a paper emission, the measure was this day rejected, in emphatical terms, by a majority of eighty-four against seventeen. The affair of the Mississippi is but imperfectly known. I find that its influence on the federal spirit will not be less than was apprehended. The

western members will not be long silent on the subject. I inculcate a hope that the views of Congress may yet be changed, and that it would be rash to suffer the alarm to interfere with the policy of amending the Confederacy. The sense of the House has not yet been tried on the latter point. The report from the Deputies to Annapolis, lies on the table; and, I hope, will be called for, before the business of the Mississippi begins to ferment. Mr. Henry has signified his wish not to be reëlected; but will not be in the Assembly. The Attorney and R. H. Lee are in nomination for his succession. The former will probably be appointed, in which case the contest for that vacancy will lie between Colonel Jones and Mr. Marshall. The nominations for Congress are, as usual, numerous. There being no Senate yet, it is uncertain when any of these appointments will take place.

With the sincerest affection and the highest esteem, I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM DAVID HUMPHREYS.

New Haven, 1 November, 1786.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I wrote your Excellency some time ago from Hartford, and inclosed you the draft of a letter on the subject we talked of when I left Mount Vernon. I hope you have duly received it, though I shall not be free from anxiety until I know with certainty that has been the case.

When I wrote that letter, I was in hopes that it might have been in my power, before this time, to give you a favorable account of the complexion of

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politics in this State. It is true we have done some negative good; we have prevented an emission of paper money and tender acts from taking place. But I am sorry to say, we have done nothing in aid of the Federal Government. The only requisition of Congress we have complied with, is a recent one for raising troops, on account of an Indian war, as is given out; but some conjecture, for other purposes. The Assembly has this day given me the command of a regiment, part to be raised in this State, and a part in the other New England States. I have been advised by our friends to accept it for the present; which I shall accordingly do.

The troubles in Massachusetts still continue. Government is prostrated in the dust. And it is much to be feared that there is not energy enough in that State to reëstablish the civil powers. The leaders of the mob, whose fortune and measures are desperate, are strengthening themselves daily; and it is expected that they will soon take possession of the Continental magazine at Springfield, in which there are from ten to fifteen thousand stand of arms, in excellent order.

A general want of compliance with the requisitions of Congress for money, seems to prognosticate that we are rapidly advancing to a crisis. The wheels of the great political machine can scarcely continue to move much longer, under this present embarrassment. Congress, I am told, are seriously alarmed, and hardly know which way to turn, or what to expect. Indeed, my dear General, nothing but a good Providence can extricate us from our present difficulties, and prevent some terrible convulsion.

In case of civil discord, I have already told you it was seriously my opinion that you could not remain

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neuter, and that you would be obliged, in self-defence, to take part on one side or the other, or withdraw from the Continent. Your friends are of the same opinion; and I believe you are convinced that it is impossible to have more disinterested and zealous friends than those who have been about your person.

I write with the more confidence, as this letter will be delivered by Mr. Austin and Mr. Morse, two young clergymen, educated at this University, who are travelling to the southern part of the Union, for the sake of acquiring knowledge of their own country. I beg leave to recommend them to your civilities; and to assure you, in offering my best respects to Mrs. Washington and the family, how sincerely

I am, my dear General, yours, &c.,

David HUMPHREYS.

FROM BENJAMIN TUPPER.

Mingo Bottom, Ohio County, 23 November, 1786.

SIR,

I did myself the honor, at the close of the season last year, to give your Excellency a hint with respect to our ill success. We have been in some measure more fortunate the last season, and have completed four ranges of townships. Four more are begun, some of which were not far proceeded on, by reason of certain information received of the hostile disposition of the Indians, in particular with respect to the Surveyors. But, by a kind hand of Providence, their schemes have been frustrated; and no special accident has happened to either of the Surveyors. We are now on our return to visit our wives and sweethearts. I still entertain my former enthu-

siastic notions with respect to this country; and firmly believe that the beneficent Divine Being hath reserved this country as an asylum for the neglected and persecuted soldiers of the late American army, in particular those of the Eastern States. I am returning home with as full a determination to encourage a speedy settlement here, as though nothing had happened between us and the Indians. I hope I may not be instrumental of leading my friends to special danger or destruction.

As I have but a few minutes to write, I beg leave to refer your Excellency to the bearer, William McMahan, Esquire, a member of the Assembly of your State for the county of Ohio, who is thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of this country, and has been exceedingly serviceable to the Surveyors. Colonels Sproat and Sherman present their most respectful compliments to your Excellency. My son Anselm, who was my Adjutant, wishes to present his most profound respects. I wish to be remembered to Mrs. Washington in such terms as will express the greatest respect. Colonel Humphreys, and all my acquaintance in that part, I remember with singular pleasure.

I have the honor to be, yours, &c.,

BENJAMIN TUPPER.

FROM FRANCISO RENDON.

Philadelphia, 4 December, 1786.

DEAR GENERAL,

Having received orders from my sovereign to repair immediately to Court, to give an account of my stewardship, and receive his royal orders, I cannot

quit this country without taking the most affectionate leave of your Excellency, and expressing my gratitude for the friendship with which you have repaid the high veneration and sincere attachment which I have always entertained for your person and character. I could have wished it had been in my power to take your commands before my departure; but it is so sudden, that I have not time to allow myself the satisfaction. It will be to me a heartfelt pleasure in giving an account to his Majesty of the distinguished character of America, to expatiate particularly on the private virtues of General Washington, and to delineate, to the best of Kings, the picture of the best of citizens. I am sure that this is the light in which you will please him best. Others have already taught him to admire your talents and public virtues; it will be my business to teach him to love your person. I leave this country with a heart full of affection for its inhabitants, and full of gratitude for the affection and friendship they have shown me. With this disposition, you may judge whether I shall let an opportunity escape of being useful to America. Allow me to repeat my wishes that you may, all your life, enjoy that happiness which you have ensured to thousands.

With the most perfect respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, Sir, yours, &c.,

FRANCISCO RENDON.

N. B. If I could be of any use to you in Spain, I shall be happy to receive your orders, which you may direct to me under cover of Mr. Carmichael. I cannot yet give up the hope of seeing this country again; and I think it very probable that I shall once more revisit my old friends of America.

Present my best respects to your lady, and my good friend, Major Washington.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Richmond, 6 December, 1786.

SIR,

By the inclosed act, you will readily discover that the Assembly are alarmed at the storms which threaten the United States. What our enemies have foretold, seems to be hastening to its accomplishment; and cannot be frustrated but by an instantaneous, zealous, and steady union among the friends of the Federal Government. To you I need not press our present dangers. The inefficiency of Congress you have often felt in your official character; the increasing languor of our associated Republics you hourly see; and a dissolution would be, I know, to you a source of the deepest mortification.

I freely, then, entreat you to accept the unanimous appointment of the General Assembly to the Convention at Philadelphia. For the gloomy prospect still admits one ray of hope; that those who began, carried on, and consummated the revolution, can yet rescue America from the impending ruin.

I have the honor, Sir, to be, with the sincerest esteem and respect, yours, &c.,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM JOHN JAY.

New York, 7 January, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

They who regard the public good with more attention and attachment than they do mere personal concerns, must feel and confess the force of such sentiments as are expressed in your letter to me, by Colonel Humphreys, last fall. The situation of our affairs calls not only for reflection and prudence, but for exertion. What is to be done? is a common question; but it is a question not easy to answer.

Would the giving any further degree of power to Congress do the business? I am inclined to think it would not. For, among other reasons;—

It is natural to suppose there will always be members who will find it convenient to make their seats subservient to partial and personal purposes; and they who may be able and willing to concert and promote useful and national measures, will seldom be unembarrassed by the ignorance, prejudices, fears, or interested views of others. In so large a body, secrecy and despatch will be too uncommon; and foreign as well as local influence will frequently oppose, and sometimes frustrate, the wisest measures. Large assemblies often misunderstand or neglect the obligations of character, honor, and dignity; and will, collectively, do or omit things which individual gentlemen, in private capacities, would not approve. As the many divide blame, and also divide credit, too little a portion of either falls to each man's share to affect him strongly. Even in cases where the whole blame or the whole credit must be national, it is not easy for those to think and feel as sovereigns, who have always been accustomed to think and feel as

subjects. The executive business of sovereignty, depending on so many wills, and those wills moved by such a variety of contradictory motives and inducements, will, in general, be but feebly done. Such a sovereign, however theoretically responsible, cannot be effectually so, in its departments and officers, without adequate judicatories.

I therefore promise myself nothing very desirable from any change which does not divide the sovereignty into its proper departments. Let Congress legislate; let others execute; let others judge.

Shall we have a King? Not, in my opinion, while other expedients remain untried. Might we not have a Governor-General, limited in his prerogatives and duration? Might not Congress be divided into an upper and a lower House; the former appointed for life, the latter annually; and let the Governor-General (to preserve the balance), with the advice of a Council, formed, for that only purpose, of the great judicial officers, have a negative on their acts? Our Government should, in some degree, be suited to our manners and circumstances, and they, you know, are not strictly democratical.

What powers should be granted to the Government, so constituted, is a question which deserves much thought. I think, the more the better; the States retaining only so much as may be necessary for domestic purposes, and all their principal officers, civil and military, being commissioned and removable by the National Government. These are short hints. Details would exceed the limits of a letter, and to you be superfluous.

A Convention is in contemplation, and I am glad to find your name among those of its intended members. To me the policy of such a Convention ap-

pears questionable. Their authority is to be derived from acts of the State Legislatures. Are the State Legislatures authorized, either by themselves or others, to alter Constitutions? I think not. They who hold commissions can, by virtue of them, neither retrench nor extend the powers conveyed by them. Perhaps it is intended that this Convention shall not ordain; but only recommend. If so, there is danger that their recommendations will produce endless discussions, and perhaps jealousies and party heats.

Would it not be better for Congress, plainly, and in strong terms, to declare, that the present Federal Government is inadequate to the purposes for which it was instituted; that they forbear to point out its particular defects, or to ask for an extension of any particular powers, lest improper jealousies should thence arise; but that, in their opinion, it would be expedient for the people of the States, without delay, to appoint State Conventions (in the way they choose their General Assemblies), with the sole and express power of appointing Deputies to a General Convention; who, or the majority of whom, should take into consideration the articles of Confederation, and make such alterations, amendments, and additions thereto as to them should appear necessary and proper, and which, being by them ordained and published, should have the same force and obligation which all or any of the present articles now have?

No alterations in the Government should, I think, be made, nor, if attempted, will easily take place, unless deducible from the only source of just authority, the people.

Accept, my dear Sir, my warmest and most cordial wishes for your health and happiness; and believe me to be, with the greatest respect and esteem, &c.,

JOHN JAY.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

New York, 14 January, 1787.

I thank you, my dear Sir, for your kind favor of the 26th ultimo, which I received on the 7th instant. On the dispersion of the insurgents at Worcester, which was dictated more by the inclemency of the weather, and the consideration of having effected their object, than by any apprehensions of coercion from Government, many people were of opinion that the disorders were at an end, and that Government would resume its tone. They did not reflect that the Court, which was the great object of the insurgents assembling, was adjourned; and that, having no further business at that time, they went to their respective homes. But, as soon as any object presented, they again reassembled in sufficient numbers to effect it. This was the case at Springfield, in the county of Hampshire, the inferior Court of which was to have met on the last Tuesday of December, but was prevented from doing any business by a party of about three hundred armed men. The Government of Massachusetts are now convinced that all lenient measures, instead of correcting, rather inflame the disorders. The Executive, therefore, have determined on coercion; and they will soon try this remedy, under the direction of our friend Lincoln. I believe, with you, had this measure been tried in the first instance, the rebellion would not have arisen to its present height. But it can scarcely be imagined that it should now fail, if the arrangements should be well taken on the part of Government. If it is not administered now, it may be too late in the spring or summer ensuing.

You ask, what prevented the Eastern States from attending the September meeting at Annapolis. It is difficult to give a precise answer to this question. Perhaps, torpidity in New Hampshire; faction, and heats about their paper money, in Rhode Island; and jealousy, in Connecticut. Massachusetts had chosen Delegates to attend, who did not decline until very late; and the finding other persons to supply their places was attended with delay, so that the Convention had broken up by the time the new-chosen Delegates reached Philadelphia.

With respect to the Convention proposed to meet in May, there are different sentiments. Some suppose it an irregular assembly, unauthorized by the Confederation, which points out the mode by which any alterations shall be made. Others suppose that the proposed Convention would be totally inadequate to our situation, unless it should make an appeal to the people of every State, and a request to call State Conventions of the people, for the sole purpose of choosing Delegates to represent them in a General Convention of all the United States, to consider, revise, amend, or change the federal system, in such a manner as to them should seem meet, and to publish the same for general observance, without any reference to the parts, or States, for acceptance or confirmation. Were this mode practicable, it would certainly be the most summary, and, if the choice of Delegates was judicious in proportion to its importance, it might be the most eligible. There are others who are of opinion that Congress ought to take up the defects of the present system, point them out to the respective Legislatures, and recommend certain alterations. The recommendations of Congress are attended with so little effect, that any alterations

by that means seem to be a hopeless business. Indeed, every expedient which can be proposed, conditioned on a reference back to the Legislatures, or State Conventions, seems to be of the same nature.

Some gentlemen are apprehensive that a Convention, of the nature proposed, to meet in May next, might devise some expedients to brace up the present defective Confederation, so as just to serve to keep us together, while it would prevent those exertions for a national character, which are essential to our happiness; that in this point of view, it might be attended with the bad effect of assisting us to creep on, in our present miserable condition, without a hope of a generous Constitution, that should at once shield us from the effects of faction and despotism.

You will see by this sketch, my dear Sir, how various are the opinions of men, and how difficult it will be to bring them to concur in any effective Government. I am persuaded, if you were determined to attend the Convention, and it should be generally known, it would induce the Eastern States to send Delegates to it. I should therefore be much obliged for information of your decision on this subject. At the same time, the principles of the purest and most respectful friendship, induce me to say that, however strongly I wish for measures which would lead to national happiness and glory, yet I do not wish you to be concerned in any political operations of which there are such various opinions. There may, indeed, arise some solemn occasion, in which you may conceive it to be your duty again to exert your utmost talents to promote the happiness of your country. But this occasion must be of an unequivocal nature, in which the enlightened and virtuous citizens should generally concur.

Notwithstanding the contrary opinions respecting the proposed Convention, were I to presume to give my own judgment, it would be in favor of the Convention; and I sincerely hope that it may be generally attended. I do not flatter myself that the public mind is so sufficiently informed and harmonized as that an effective Government would be adopted by the Convention, and proposed to the United States; or, if this were practicable, that the people of the several States are sufficiently prepared to receive it. But it seems to be highly important that some object should be held forth to the people as a remedy for the disorders of the body politic. Were this done by so respectable a set of men as would be sent to the Convention, even if it were not so perfect in the first instance as it might be afterwards, yet it would be a stage in the business, and men's minds would be excited on the subject, and towards a good Constitution. Were strong events to arise between this and the time of meeting, enforcing the necessity of a vigorous Government, it would be a preparation which might be embraced by the Convention to propose at once an efficient system!

Although it may be confessed that a Convention, originating from the respective Legislatures, instead of the people themselves, is not the regular mode pointed out by the Confederation, yet, as our system, in the opinion of men of reflection, is so very defective, it may reasonably be doubted whether the constitutional mode of amendment would be adequate to our critical situation. If, on an examination, this should be found to be the case, the proposed Convention may be the best expedient that could be devised. Unrestrained by forms, it would be able to consider every proposition fully, and decide agreeably

to the sentiments of the majority. But, in a body constituted as Congress is, a single member frequently may frustrate the opinions of seventeen eighteenths of the United States, assembled by representation in that body. There are a variety of other reasons which, in my mind, have the influence to induce a preference for the Convention. But the different opinions respecting it will probably prevent a general attendance.

In my former letters, I mentioned that men of reflection and principle were tired of the imbecilities of the present Government; but I did not point out any substitute. It would be prudent to form the plan of a new house, before we pull down the old one. The subject has not been sufficiently discussed, as yet, in public, to decide precisely on the form of the edifice. It is out of all question that the foundation must be of republican principles, but so modified and wrought together, that whatever shall be erected thereon, should be durable and efficient. I speak entirely of the Federal Government, or, which would be better, *one Government*, instead of an association of Governments. Were it possible to effect a General Government of this kind, it might be constituted of an Assembly or lower House, chosen for one, two, or three years; a Senate, chosen for five, six, or seven years; and the Executive, under the title of Governor-General, chosen by the Assembly and Senate, for the term of seven years, but liable to an impeachment of the lower House, and triable by the Senate. A Judicial, to be appointed by the Governor-General during good behaviour, but impeachable by the lower House, and triable by the Senate. The laws passed by the General Government, to be obeyed by the local Governments; and, if necessary, to be enforced by a body of armed

men to be kept for the purposes which should be designated. All national objects to be designed and executed by the General Government, without any reference to the local Governments. This rude sketch is considered as the Government of the least possible powers to preserve the confederated Governments. To attempt to establish less, will be to hazard the existence of republicanism, and to subject us either to a division of the European powers, or to a despotism arising from high-handed commotions.

I have thus, my dear Sir, obeyed what seemed to be your desire, and given you the ideas which have presented themselves from reflection and the opinion of others. May heaven direct us to the best means for the dignity and happiness of the United States!

I hinted, in the former part of this letter, that the Executive of Massachusetts were determined on coercion, under the auspices of General Lincoln. He will begin his operations on the 20th instant, with a body of four thousand men, including six companies of artillery with field-pieces. They will be drafted from the militia for a certain time. If the insurgents decline meeting him in force at Worcester, the 23d instant, to which time the Court of Common Pleas is adjourned, he will proceed to Hampshire county and Berkshire, at which places the Courts will also sit. If the insurgents decline meeting him at those places, he will detach parties to bring in the most culpable, in order for a trial by law. The process of this business will be interesting, and its issue important; both of which I shall do myself the pleasure of informing you of.

Mrs. Knox thanks Mrs. Washington and you, with great sincerity, for your kind wishes, and prays that you both may enjoy every happiness; to which I

say, Amen. I am, dear Sir, with the most respectful and unalterable affection, yours, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 21 February, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

Some little time before my arrival here, a quorum of the States was made up, and General St. Clair put in the Chair. We have at present nine States on the ground, but shall lose South Carolina to-day. Other States are daily expected.

What business of moment may be done by the present or a fuller meeting, is uncertain. The objects now depending, and most immediately in prospect, are ;—First. The treaty of peace. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs has very ably reported a view of the infractions on both sides, his exposition of the contested articles, and the steps proper to be taken by Congress. I find, what I was not before apprised of, that more than one infraction on our part preceded even the violation on the other side, in the instance of the negroes. Some of the reasoning on the subject of the debts would be rather grating to Virginia. A full compliance with the treaty, according to judicial constructions, and as a ground for insisting on a reciprocal compliance, is the proposition in which the report terminates. Secondly. A recommendation of the proposed Convention in May. Congress have been much divided and embarrassed on the question, whether their taking an interest in the measure would impede or promote it. On one side, it has been urged that some of the backward States have

scruples against acceding to it, without some constitutional sanction; on the other, that other States will consider any interference of Congress as proceeding from the same views which have hitherto excited their jealousies.

A vote of the Legislature here, entered into yesterday, will give some relief in the case. They have instructed their Delegates in Congress to move for the recommendation in question. The vote was carried by a majority of one only in the Senate; and there is room to suspect that the minority were actuated by a dislike to the substance, rather than by any objections against the form, of the business. A large majority in the other branch, a few days ago, put a definitive veto on the impost. It would seem as if the politics of this State are directed by individual interests and plans, which might be incommoded by the control of an efficient Federal Government. The four States north of it are still to make their decision on the subject of the Convention.

I am told, by one of the Massachusetts Delegates, that the Legislature of that State, which is now sitting, will certainly accede, and appoint Deputies, if Congress declare their approbation of the measure. I have similar information that Connecticut will probably come in, though it is said that the interference of Congress will rather have a contrary tendency there. It is expected that South Carolina will not fail to adopt the plan, and that Georgia is equally well disposed. All the intermediate States, between the former and New York, have already appointed Deputies, except Maryland, which, it is said, means to do it, and has entered into some vote which declares as much. Nothing has yet been done by the new Congress with regard to the Mississippi. Our latest

information from Massachusetts gives hopes that the meeting, or, as the Legislature there now style it, the rebellion, is nearly extinct. If the measures, however, on foot for disarming and disfranchising those concerned in it, should be carried into effect, a new crisis may be brought on.

I have not been here long enough to gather the general sentiments of leading characters touching our affairs and prospects. I am inclined to hope that they will gradually be concentrated in the plan of a thorough reform of the existing system. Those who may lean towards a monarchical Government, and who, I suspect, are swayed by very indigested ideas, will of course abandon an unattainable object, whenever a prospect opens of rendering the republican form competent to its purposes. Those who remain attached to the latter form, must soon perceive that it cannot be preserved at all under any modification which does not redress the ills experienced from our present establishments. Virginia is the only State which has made any provision for the late moderate but essential requisition of Congress; and her provision is a partial one only.

This would have been of earlier date, but I have waited for more interesting subjects for it. I shall do myself the pleasure of repeating the liberty of dropping you a few lines as often as proper occasions arise; on no other condition, however, than your waiving the trouble of regular answers or acknowledgments on your part.

With the greatest respect and affection I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 18 March, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

Recollecting to have heard you mention a plan, formed by the Empress of Russia, for a comparative view of the aborigines of the new Continent, and of the north-eastern parts of the old, through the medium of their respective tongues, and that her wishes had been conveyed to you for your aid in obtaining the American vocabularies, I have availed myself of an opportunity, offered by the kindness of Mr. Hawkins, of taking a copy of such a sample of the Cherokee and Choctaw dialects, as his late commission to treat with them enabled him to obtain; and do myself the honor now of inclosing it. I do not know how far the list of words made use of by Mr. Hawkins may correspond with the standard of the Empress, nor how far nations so remote as the Cherokees and Choctaws from the north-west shores of America, may fall within her scheme of comparison. I presume, however, that a great proportion, at least, of the words will answer, and that the laudable curiosity, which suggests investigations of this sort, will be pleased with every enlargement of the field for indulging it. Not finding it convenient to retain a copy of the inclosed, as I wished to do, for myself, I must ask the favor of your amanuensis to perform that task for me.

The appointments for the Convention go on very successfully. Since the date of my last, Georgia, South Carolina, New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, have come into the measure. Georgia and New Hampshire have constituted their Delegates in Congress their Representatives in the Convention.

South Carolina has appointed Mr. S. Rutledge, General Pinckney, Mr. Laurens, Major Butler, and Mr. Charles Pinckney, late a member of Congress. The Deputies of Massachusetts are Mr. Dana, Mr. King, Mr. Gorham, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Strong. I am told that a resolution of the Legislature of this State, which originated with their Senate, lays its Deputies under the fetter of not departing from the fifth of the present articles of Confederation. As this resolution passed before the recommendatory act of Congress was known, it is conjectured that it may be rescinded; but its having passed at all, denotes a much greater prevalence of political jealousy in that quarter than had been imagined. The deputation of New York consists of Colonel Hamilton, Judge Yates and a Mr. Lausing. The two last are said to be pretty much linked to the anti-federal party here, and are likely of course to be a clog on their colleague. It is not doubted now, that Connecticut and Rhode Island will avoid the singularity of being unrepresented in the Convention.

The thinness of Congress has been an obstacle to all the important business before them. At present, there are nine States on the ground; but this number, though adequate to every object when unanimous, makes a very slow progress in business that requires seven States only; and I see little prospect of the number being increased.

By our latest and most authentic information from Massachusetts, it would seem that a calm has been restored by the expedition of General Lincoln. The precautions taking by the State, however, betray a great distrust of its continuance. Besides their act disqualifying the malcontents from voting in the election of members for the Legislature, &c., another has

been passed for raising a corps of one thousand or fifteen hundred men, and appropriating the choicest revenues of the country to its support. It is said that at least half of the insurgents decline accepting the terms annexed to the amnesty; and that this defiance of the law against treason is countenanced, not only by the impunity with which they show themselves on public occasions, even with insolent badges of their character, but by marks of popular favor, conferred on them in various instances, in the election to local offices.

A proposition has been introduced and discussed in the Legislature of this State, for relinquishing its claim to Vermont, and urging the admission of it into the Confederacy. As far as I can learn, difficulties will arise only in settling the form, the substance of the measures being not disliked by any of the parties. It is wished, by those who are not interested in claims to lands within that district, to guard against any responsibility in the State for compensation. On the other side, it will at least be insisted that they shall not be barred of the privilege of carrying their claims before a federal Court, in case Vermont shall become a party to the Union. I think it probable, if she should not decline becoming such altogether, that she will make two conditions, if not more;—First, that neither her boundaries nor the rights of her citizens shall be impeachable under the ninth article of Confederation; secondly, that no share of the public debt, already contracted, shall be allotted to her.

I have a letter from Colonel John Campbell, dated at Pittsburg, from which I gather that the people of that quarter are thrown into great agitation by the reported intention of Congress concerning the Missis-

issippi, and that measures are on foot for uniting the minds of all the different settlements which have a common interest at stake. Should this policy take effect, I think there is much ground to apprehend that the ambition of individuals will quickly mix itself with the first impulses of resentment and interest; that, by degrees, the people may be led to set up for themselves; that they will slide, like Vermont, insensibly into a communication and latent connection with their British neighbours, and, in pursuance of the same example, make such a disposition of the western territory as will entice into it, most effectually, emigrants from all parts of the Union. If these apprehensions be not imaginary, they suggest many observations extremely interesting to Spain, as well as to the United States.

I hear from Richmond, with much concern, that Mr. Henry has positively declined his mission to Philadelphia. Besides the loss of his services on that theatre, there is danger, I fear, that this step has proceeded from a wish to leave his conduct unfettered on another theatre, where the result of the Convention will receive its destiny from his omnipotence. With every sentiment of esteem and affection,

I remain, dear Sir, yours, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 5 May, 1787.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Although I cannot omit an opportunity of writing to you, my letter will not be so long and minute as I should like to make it, because of the constant

hurry of business occasioned by the Assembly. Every day, Sundays excepted, is taken up with general meetings, Committees, and smaller Boards. It is a pretty extraordinary sight at Versailles; the more so, as a great deal of patriotism and firmness have been displayed.

From the time of this King's arrival to the throne, the expenses of the treasury have been increased about two hundred French millions a year; but it went at such a rate under M. de Calonne, that, having got a monstrous deficiency, and knowing not how to fill it up, he persuaded the King to assemble notable persons of each order, to please them with a plan of Assemblies in each Province, which was much desired, and to get their approbation for new taxes, with which he durst not, by himself, saddle the nation.

The Assembly was very properly chosen, both for honesty, abilities, and personal consequence. But M. de Calonne much depended on his own powers of speaking and intriguing, as well as on the King's blind confidence in him and all his plans. We were not the representatives of the nation; but have been supported by their partiality to us.

Calonne's plan of Provincial Assemblies has been amended by us. His plan of a tax has been rejected. It has been the case with several other projects. Some others were altered for the better, and sometimes new ones substituted; and we declared that, although we had no right to impede, it was our right not to advise, unless we thought the measure were proper, and that we could not think of new taxes unless we knew the returns of expenditure and the plans of economy. The more we entered into the business, the less possible it was for the Ministry to

do without us. To the Assembly the public looked up ; and, had the Assembly been dismissed, the credit was gone. As we were going to separate for the Easter days, I made a motion to inquire into bargains, by which, under pretence of exchange, millions had been lavished upon Princes and favorites. The Bishop of Langres seconded my motion. It was thought proper to intimidate us; and the King's brother told, in his Majesty's name, that such motions ought to be signed, upon which I signed the inclosed.

M. de Calonne went up to the King, to ask I should be confined to the Bastille. An oratory battle was announced between us for the next meeting ; and I was getting the proofs of what I had advanced, when Calonne was overthrown from his post ; and so our dispute ended, except that the King and family, and the great men about Court, some friends excepted, do not forgive me for the liberties I have taken, and the success it had among the other classes of the people.

M. de Calonne's successor was M. de Fourqueux, an old man, who lasted but a fortnight ; and now we have got the Archbishop of Toulouse at the head of affairs, a man of the most upright honesty and shining abilities. M. de Villedieuil, a clever man, will act under him ; and we may consider the Archbishop as a Prime Minister.

We are going to have good Houses of Representatives in each Province ; not to vote the taxes, but to divide them. We have got the King to make reductions and improvements to the amount of forty millions of livres a year. We are proposing the means to insure a better and more public method of administration ; but shall be obliged, in the end, to make loans and lay taxes. The Assembly have acted

with firmness and patriotism. The walls of Versailles had never heard so many good things; and our meeting, particularly in the alarming situation of affairs, when the Kingdom was driving away, like Phaeton's car, will have proved very beneficial.

I have been much hurt to hear that the unpaid interest of the American debt was considered as a very uncertain revenue. I said every thing that was proper on this subject; but could not prevent that being considered as a fact, which, hitherto, has proved but too true. Full justice has been done to the security of the capital; but the punctuality of the interest has been animadverted upon. M. de Calonne's letter has met with some difficulties from the farmers, which are going to be settled, so that the merchants need not be uneasy. The cloud that was gathering on the Turks and Russians is, for the moment, clearing up.

My health has been deranged during the Assembly, so far as to endanger a little my breast; but a good regimen, and a little patience, without interrupting public business, have got me in a very fair way. Inclosed is a copy of my signed motion, which I find in a newspaper. I would have translated it; but you will very easily have it done. When the opinions of the several Committees shall be printed, I will send them to America.

My most affectionate respects, and those of Madame de Lafayette and family, wait on Mrs. Washington and you, my dear General. Remember me to the whole family and all friends. Most respectfully and tenderly I have the honor to be, my beloved General,

Your most devoted and grateful friend,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. M. St. John de Cr veco ur, the French Consul at New York, has requested my recommendation for some information he wishes to have. I assured him you would have no objections. Tarleton has printed a journal of the campaigns he has made, wherein he treats Lord Cornwallis very severely.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

New York, 3 July, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

In my passage through the Jerseys, and since my arrival here, I have taken particular pains to discover the public sentiment; and I am more and more convinced that this is the critical opportunity for establishing the prosperity of this country on a solid foundation. I have conversed with men of information, not only of this city, but from different parts of the State; and they agree that there has been an astonishing revolution for the better in the minds of the people.

The prevailing apprehension among thinking men is, that the Convention, from the fear of shocking the popular opinion, will not go far enough. They seem to be convinced, that a strong, well-mounted Government, will better suit the popular palate, than one of a different complexion. Men in office are, indeed, taking all possible pains to give an unfavorable impression of the Convention; but the current seems to be moving strongly the other way. A plain, but sensible man, in a conversation I had with him yesterday, expressed himself nearly in this manner;—The

people begin to be convinced that "their excellent form of Government," as they have been used to call it, will not answer their purpose, and that they must substitute something not very remote from that which they have lately quitted.

These appearances, though they will not warrant a conclusion that the people are yet ripe for such a plan as I advocate, yet serve to prove that there is no reason to despair of their adopting one equally energetic, if the Convention should think proper to propose it. They serve to prove, that we ought not to allow too much weight to objections drawn from the supposed repugnance of the people to an efficient Constitution. I confess, I am more and more inclined to believe, that former habits of thinking are regaining their influence with more rapidity than is generally imagined.

Not having compared ideas with you, Sir, I cannot judge how far our sentiments agree; but, as I persuade myself, the genuineness of my representations will receive credit with you. My anxiety for the event of the deliberations of the Convention, induces me to make this communication of what appears to be the tendency of the public mind. I own to you, Sir, that I am seriously and deeply distressed at the aspect of the counsels, which prevailed when I left Philadelphia. I fear that we shall let slip the golden opportunity of rescuing the American Empire from disunion, anarchy, and misery. No motley or feeble measure can answer the end, or will finally receive the public support. Decision is true wisdom, and will not be less reputable to the Convention, than salutary to the community.

I shall of necessity remain here ten or twelve days. If I have reason to believe that my attendance at

Philadelphia will not be mere waste of time, I shall, after that period, rejoin the Convention.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 15 July, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

I have the honor to inclose to you an ordinance, that we have just passed in Congress, for establishing a temporary Government beyond the Ohio, as a measure preparatory to the sale of the lands. It seemed necessary, for the security of property among uninformed, and, perhaps, licentious people, as the greater part of those who go there are, that a strong-toned Government should exist, and the rights of property be clearly defined. Our next object is, to consider of a proposition made for the purchase of five or six millions of acres, in order to lessen the domestic debt. An object of much consequence this, since the extinguishment of this part of the public debt would not only relieve from a very heavy burden, but, by demolishing the ocean of public securities, we should stop that mischievous deluge of speculation that now hurts our morals, and extremely injures the public affairs.

Our Gazettes continue to be filled with publications against the Spanish treaty, and for opening the Mississippi; some of them plausible, but generally weak and indecent. This seems to be contending for an object unattainable for many years, and probably never without war, not only with Spain, but most likely with the Bourbon alliance; and, by such contention, exposing the Government of the United

States to a dishonorable acquiescence under the captivity of its citizens and confiscation of their effects by Spain on the Mississippi, or entering prematurely into a destructive war in resentment for such doings; at the same time discarding the friendship for the enmity of a powerful monarch, and thereby probably losing what we may possess, our share of a commerce that yields annually four or five millions of dollars for codfish only, independent of the flour, and many valuable articles of American production, used in Spain, and not interfering with their own products; to say nothing of a most lucrative contraband trade from the ocean and on the Mississippi, which a friend might wink at, but which a vigilant and powerful enemy will prevent. It seems to me that North America is going, if we are prudent, to be the entrepôt between the East Indies and Spanish America. If to these we could join the settlement of a disputed boundary, and obtain a powerful guaranty therefor, surely such considerations greatly outweigh the far-sought apprehension of an alliance of the Kentuckians with the British; and especially when we consider, that a conduct which will procure the enmity of Spain, will probably force her into the open arms of Great Britain, much to our commercial and political injury. And, after all, if this navigation could be opened, and the benefits be such as are chimerically supposed, it must, in its consequences, depopulate and ruin the old States.

The argument may shortly thus be stated; — Spain will not agree to the navigation within her limits. Can we force it in twenty-five years? If we cannot, why risk, for an unattainable object, the loss of valuable objects, and the incurring pernicious consequences? A candid and impartial consideration of this subject,

must, I think, determine the question without difficulty. But I beg your pardon, Sir, for writing so much on this question, which, I doubt not, but you have fully considered before.

I have the honor to be, with the truest respect and esteem, dear Sir, &c.,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

New York, 14 August, 1787.

Influenced by motives of delicacy, I have hitherto forborne the pleasure, my dear Sir, of writing to you since my return from Philadelphia. I have been apprehensive, that the stages of the business of the Convention might leak out, and be made an ill use of by some people. I have therefore been anxious that you should escape the possibility of imputation. But, as the objects seem now to be brought to a point, I take the liberty to indulge myself in communicating with you.

Although I frankly confess that the existence of the State Governments is an insuperable evil in a national point of view, yet I do not well see how, in this stage of the business, they could be annihilated; and perhaps, while they continue, the frame of Government could not, with propriety, be much higher toned than the one proposed. It is so infinitely preferable to the present Constitution, and gives such a bias to a proper line of conduct in future, that I think all men, anxious for a National Government, should zealously embrace it.

The education, genius, and habits of men on this Continent, are so various, even at this moment, and

of consequence their views of the same subject so different, that I am satisfied with the result of the Convention, although it is short of my wishes and of my judgment. But, when I find men of the purest intentions concur in embracing a system, which, on the highest deliberation, seems to be the best which can be obtained under present circumstances, I am convinced of the propriety of its being strenuously supported by all those who have wished for a National Republic of higher and more durable powers. I am persuaded that the address of the Convention, to accompany their propositions, will be couched in the most persuasive terms. I feel anxious that there should be the fullest representation in Congress, in order that the propositions should receive their warmest concurrence and strongest impulse.

Mrs. Knox and myself have recently sustained the severe affliction of losing our youngest child, of about eleven months old, who died on the 11th instant, of a disease incident to children cutting their teeth in the summer season. This is the third time that Mrs. Knox has had her tenderest affections lacerated by the rigid hand of death. Although her present grief is sharp indeed, we hope it will be assuaged by the lenient hand of time. I am, my dear Sir,

With the most perfect respect and affection, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

New York, 3 October, 1787.

By this time, my dear Sir, you will have again renewed your attention to your domestic affairs, after the long absence occasioned by the Convention. I

flatter myself with the hope that you found Mrs. Washington and your family in perfect health.

Every point of view in which I have been able to place the subject, induces me to believe that the moment in which the Convention assembled, and the result thereof, are to be estimated among those fortunate circumstances in the affairs of men, which give a decided influence to the happiness of society for a long period of time. Hitherto every thing promises well. The new Constitution is received with great joy by all the commercial part of the community. The people of Boston are in raptures with it as it is, but would have liked it still better had it been higher-toned. The people of Jersey and Connecticut, who are not commercial, embrace it with ardor. There has not yet elapsed sufficient time to hear from the interior parts of the other States, excepting this, which, however, does not seem to have decided on its plan of conduct. It will not probably, however, be among the first which shall adopt it; but I presume the powerful circumstance of interest will ultimately induce it to comply. As the information now appears, Virginia probably will give the new plan the most formidable opposition. The unanimous resolve of Congress to transmit it to the respective States, will not lessen the general disposition to receive it. But, notwithstanding my strong persuasion that it will be adopted generally, and in a much shorter time than I some time ago believed, yet it will be opposed, more or less, in most of the States.

The germ of opposition originated in the Convention itself. The gentlemen who refused signing it, will most probably conceive themselves obliged to state their reasons publicly. The presses will groan with melancholy forebodings, and a party of some

strength will be created. This is an evil, but it is an infinitely lesser evil than that we should have crumbled to pieces by mere imbecility. I trust in God that the foundation of a good national Government is laid. A way is opened to such alterations and amendments, from time to time, as shall be judged necessary; and the Government, being subjected to a revision by the people, will not be so liable to abuse. The first Legislature ought to be the ablest and most disinterested men of the community. Every well-founded objection which shall be stated in the course of the discussions on the subject, should be fairly considered, and such fundamental laws enacted as would tend to obviate them.

Mrs. Knox unites with me in presenting our most affectionate respects to Mrs. Washington.

I am, my dear Sir, with the sincerest and most respectful friendship, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 11 October, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

I was unwilling to interrupt your attention to more important affairs at Philadelphia, by sending there an acknowledgment of the letter that you were pleased to honor me with from that city, especially as this place afforded nothing worthy of your notice.

We have the pleasure to see the first act of Congress for selling federal lands, north-west of the Ohio, becoming productive very fast, a large sum of public securities being already paid in upon the first sales; and a new contract is ordered to be made with a

company in New Jersey for the lands between the two Miamis, that will rid us of at least two millions more of the public debt. There is good reason to suppose that by the next spring we shall have reduced the domestic debt near six millions of dollars. And it seems clear that the lands yet to be disposed of, if well managed, will sink the whole thirty millions that are due.

The assiduity with which the Court of London is soliciting that of Spain for the conclusion of a commercial treaty between those powers, renders it a signal misfortune that we have not been able to get a sufficient number of the States together to produce a conclusion of the Spanish treaty. The state of Europe, with respect to the continuance of peace, still hangs in doubtful balance. The financial weakness of France and Great Britain most strongly opposes war; yet the state of things is such as renders it very questionable whether even that difficulty, great as it is, will secure the continuance of peace.

It is under the strongest impressions of your goodness and candor that I venture to make the observations that follow in this letter, assuring you that I feel it among the first distresses that have happened to me in my life, that I find myself compelled, by irresistible conviction of mind, to doubt about the new system for Federal Government recommended by the late Convention.

It is, Sir, in consequence of long reflection upon the nature of man and of government, that I am led to fear the danger that will ensue to civil liberty from the adoption of the new system, in its present form. I am fully sensible of the propriety of change in the present plan of Confederation; and, although there may be difficulties, not inconsiderable, in pro-

curing the adoption of such amendments to the Convention system, as will give security to the just rights of human nature, and better secure from injury the discordant interests of the different parts of this Union, yet I hope that these difficulties are not insurmountable, because we are happily uninterrupted by external war, or by such internal discords as can prevent peaceable and fair discussion, in another Convention, of those objections that are fundamentally strong against the new Constitution, which abounds with useful regulations. As there is so great a part of the business well done already, I think that such alterations as must give very general content, could not long employ another Convention, when provided with the sense of the different States upon those alterations.

I am much inclined to believe that the amendments, generally thought to be necessary, will be found to be of such a nature as, though they do not oppose the exercise of a very competent federal power, are yet such as the best theories on Government, and the best practice upon those theories, have found necessary; at the same time that they are such as the opinions of our people have for ages been fixed on. It would be unnecessary for me here to enumerate particulars, as I expect the honor of waiting on you at Mount Vernon, in my way home, early in November. In the mean time, I have only to request that my best respects may be presented to your lady, and that I may be remembered to the rest of the good family of Mount Vernon.

I have the honor to be, dear Sir, with the most unfeigned respect, esteem and affection, &c.,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 14 October, 1787

DEAR SIR,

The letter herewith inclosed was put into my hands yesterday by Mr. Crèvecoeur, who belongs to the consular establishment of France in this country. I add to it a pamphlet which Mr. Pinckney has submitted to the public, or rather, as he professes, to the perusal of his friends, and a printed sheet containing his ideas on a very delicate subject; too delicate, in my opinion, to have been properly confided to the press. He conceives that his precautions against any farther circulation of the piece than he himself authorizes, are so effectual as to justify the step. I wish he may not be disappointed. In communicating a copy to you, I fulfil his wishes only.

No decisive indications of the public mind, in the Northern and Middle States, can yet be collected. The reports continue to be rather favorable to the act of the Convention, from every quarter; but its adversaries will naturally be latest in showing themselves. Boston is certainly friendly. An opposition is known to be *in petto* in Connecticut, but is said not to be much dreaded by the other side. Rhode Island will be divided on this subject, in the same manner as it has been on the question of paper money. The newspapers here have contained sundry publications animadverting on the proposed Constitution; and it is known that the Government party are hostile to it. There are, on the other side, so many able and weighty advocates, and the conduct of the Eastern States, if favorable, will add so much force to their arguments, that there is at least as much ground for hope as

for apprehension. I do not learn that any opposition is likely to be made in New Jersey. The temper of Pennsylvania will be best known to you from the direct information which you cannot fail to receive through the newspapers and other channels.

Congress have been of late employed chiefly in settling the requisition, and in making some arrangements for the western country. The latter consist of the appointment of a Governor and Secretary, and the allotment of a sum of money for Indian treaties, if they should be found necessary. The requisition, so far as it varies our fiscal system, makes the proportion of indents receivable, independently of specie, and those of different years indiscriminately receivable for any year, and does not, as heretofore, tie down the States to a particular mode of obtaining them. Mr. Adams has been permitted to return home after February next, and Mr. Jefferson's appointment continued for three years longer. With the most perfect esteem and most affectionate regard,

I remain, dear Sir, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 15 October, 1787.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have a few days ago written to you by M. de Moustier, the new Minister from this Court. He is a sensible and honest man, with whom I think that the people of America will be satisfied. He is very desirous to be presented to you, and I have invited him in your name to Mount Vernon, as well as Ma-

dame de Brehan, a very agreeable lady, his sister-in-law, who goes out with him.

Inclosed here, my dear General, is the copy of an official letter to Congress, wherein I have expressed my sentiments on the present state of affairs.

What is become of the happy years, my beloved General, when, before my sentiments were formed, I had time to model them after your judgment? This comfort at least remains for me,—to endeavour guessing what your opinion will be on every case that occurs.

There is nothing new since my last. Amsterdam has ended her resistance, and there are now States Generals and Provincial States for each of the seven Provinces regularly elected, which are, to a man, bound to the Stadtholderian party. It is one of the vices of their Constitution, that the voice of their Magistrates, howsoever elected, is mistaken for the voice of the nation.

Mr. Jefferson and myself are now employed in commercial affairs for the United States. M. de Calonne's letter will be framed into an *arrêt* of the Council, and additional favors will be so adjusted as to take in every thing that is consistent with this Government. The disposition of the Minister is as good as we can wish; and I am happy in the good fortune America had, that such a man as Mr. Jefferson was sent to this country. Nothing as yet is decided with respect to war. If it breaks out, the fault will be with England. The new Secretary at War has created a Board of General Officers, to carry on the affairs of that department, whereof he is the President. Such a measure is very meritorious, and cannot fail to do him great honor. He is, as you know, the brother to the Archbishop.

Adieu, my dear General. I hope you think often

of an adoptive son, who loves you with all the powers of his heart; and, as long as it has life, will ever be

Your most grateful, affectionate, respectful friend,

LAFAYETTE.

P. S. My best and tenderest respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me most respectfully to your mother and relations, particularly to George. I pay my compliments to all friends. Adieu, my dear General.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 28 October, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

The mail of yesterday brought me your favor of the 22d instant. The communications from Richmond give me as much pleasure, as they exceed my expectations. As I find, by a letter from a member of the Assembly, however, that Colonel Mason had not got down, and it appears that Mr. Henry is not at bottom a friend, I am not without fears that their combined influence and management may yet create difficulties. There is one consideration, which I think ought to have some weight in the case, over and above the intrinsic inducements to embrace the Constitution, and which I have suggested to some of my correspondents. There is at present a very strong probability that nine States, at least, will pretty speedily concur in establishing it. What will become of the tardy remainder? They must be either left as outcasts from the Society, to shift for themselves, or be compelled to come in, or must come in of themselves when they will be allowed no credit for it.

Can either of these situations be as eligible as a prompt and manly determination to support the Union, and share its common fortunes?

My last stated pretty fully the information which had arrived here from different quarters, concerning the proposed Constitution. I recollect nothing that is now to be added, farther than that the Assembly of Massachusetts, now sitting, certainly gives it a friendly reception. I inclose a Boston paper, by which it appears that Governor Hancock has ushered it to them in as propitious a manner as could have been required.

Mr. P.'s character is, as you observe, well marked by the publications which I inclosed. His printing the secret paper at this time, could have no motive but the appetite for expected praise; for the subject to which it relates has been dormant a considerable time, and seems likely to remain so.

A foreign gentleman of merit, and who, besides this general title, brings me a letter which gives him a particular claim to my civilities, is very anxious to obtain a sketch of the Potomac, and the route from the highest navigable part of it to the western waters which are to be connected with the Potomac by the portage; together with a sketch of the works which are going on, and a memorandum of the progress made in them. Knowing of no other channel through which I could enable myself to gratify this gentleman, I am seduced into the liberty of resorting to your kindness; and of requesting that if you have such a draught by you, your amanuensis may be permitted to take a very rough copy of it for me. In making this request, I beseech you, Sir, to understand that I do it with not more confidence in your goodness, than with the sincerest desire that it may be

disregarded, if it cannot be fulfilled with the most perfect convenience. With sentiments of the most perfect esteem and the most affectionate regard,

I remain, dear Sir, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JAMES GARDOUIL.

New York, 29 October, 1787.

Permit me, my dear Sir, to intrude upon your rural repose once more with a subject that, from the moment that I became acquainted with the United States, I have exerted myself with unabated zeal to establish, — a permanent and sincere amity between our two countries on the principles of mutual interest. No two nations in the world, in my opinion, apply so exactly to each other. On such solid basis I hoped to have founded a national connection which would have daily acquired strength from the experience of its advantages, and did not doubt but the object of my wishes would have been accomplished with facility. The generous conduct and views of my Royal Master shine brightly with the most sincere friendship; and, had I met with a consonant temper in all the States, the great work would have long ago been completed, and our countries would have been now in the actual enjoyment of the comforts and advantages of a friendly intercourse. But the opposition of Virginia, expressed by the published instructions of the last Assembly to her Delegates in Congress, has, perhaps, obstructed the conclusion of the negotiation.

These instructions, I doubt not, must have reached

the Courts of Madrid and London. By the public prints from the last of those places, it is assured that one of their most able politicians has been ordered to the former; and I think we must take it for granted that he will indubitably avail himself of the above-mentioned opposition and instructions. I leave to your superior penetration to judge of what the consequences may be, and whether something ought not to be done immediately; believing it, from my heart, to be highly essential to the true interest of the United States, before it is too late.

I cannot refrain from making this candid communication to you, convinced that your constant attachment to the public good, will prompt you to take into consideration these truths, and that your knowledge of my conduct will induce you to attribute this confidence to my sincere desire to promote the harmony and interest of the two nations, and to the reluctance which I feel in the prospect of being obliged to abandon an object which has so long held the first place in my heart, and which I believe to be essential to the interest and prospects of our two countries.

Give me leave to congratulate you, and to express my sincere joy, on the happy escape you made on a bridge in your way home. May the Almighty continue preserving you, for many years, for the good of this country and of mankind in general! And permit me to conclude with my most humble respects to your worthy lady, and with unfeigned assurance that I have the honor to be,

With the highest consideration and respect, &c.,

JAMES GARDOQUI.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

30 October, 1787.

I am much obliged to your Excellency for the explicit manner in which you contradict the insinuations mentioned in my last letter. The only use I shall make of your answer, will be to put it into the hands of a few friends.

The Constitution proposed has, in this State, warm friends and warm enemies. The first impressions every where are in its favor; but the artillery of its opponents makes some impression. The event cannot yet be foreseen. The inclosed is the first number of a series of papers to be written in its defence.

I send you also, at the request of the Baron de Steuben, a printed pamphlet, containing the grounds of an application lately made to Congress. He tells me there is some reference to you, the object of which he does not himself seem clearly to understand; but imagines it may be in your power to be of service to him. There are public considerations that induce me to be somewhat anxious for his success. He is fortified with materials which, in Europe, could not fail to establish the belief of the contract he alleges. The documents of service he possesses are of a nature to convey an exalted idea of them. The compensations he has received, though considerable, if compared with those which have been received by American officers, will, according to European ideas, be very scanty in application to a stranger who is acknowledged to have rendered essential services. Our reputation abroad is not, at present, too high. To dismiss an old soldier, empty and hungry, to seek the

bounty of those on whom he has no claims, and to complain of unkind returns and violated engagements, will certainly not tend to raise it. I confess, too, there is something in my feelings which would incline me, in this case, to go farther than might be strictly necessary, rather than drive a man, at the Baron's time of life, who has been a faithful servant, to extremities. And this is unavoidable, if he does not succeed in his present attempt. What he asks would, all calculations made, terminate in this,—an allowance of his five hundred and fifty guineas a year. He only wishes a recognition of the contract. He knows that, until affairs mend, no money can be produced. I do not know how far it may be in your power to do him any good; but I shall be mistaken if the considerations I have mentioned do not appear to your Excellency to have some weight. I remain, with great respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM GEORGE MASON.

Richmond, 6 November, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

On Saturday last, in a Committee of the Whole House upon the State of the Commonwealth, to whom were referred sundry petitions, some praying for an emission of paper money, and others for making property, at an appraised value, a tender in discharge of debts, I moved and carried the resolutions of which I inclose a copy. During the discussion of the subject, after treating the petitions as founded upon fraud and knavery, I called upon any of the mem-

bers of the House, who were advocates for such measures, if any such there were, to come boldly forward, and explain their real motives. But they declined entering into the debate, and the resolutions passed unanimously. I hope they have given this iniquitous measure a mortal stab, and that we shall not again be troubled with it.

A resolution this day passed for an absolute prohibition of all imported spirits, with some others, in my opinion, almost equally impolitic, and calculated to subject the eastern part of the State to the arbitrary impositions of the western. The prohibition of the single article of rum, would cut off a net revenue of eleven thousand pounds per annum. When the bill is brought in, I think they will find such insuperable difficulties in the mode of carrying it into execution, as will oblige them to abandon the project.

I take the liberty of inclosing a copy of the resolutions upon the proposed Federal Government; by which it will appear that the Assembly have given time for full examination and discussion of the subject, and have avoided giving any opinion of their own upon the subject.

I beg to be presented to your lady and family; and am, with the greatest respect and regard, &c.,

GEORGE MASON.

P. S. A plan is before the House for a three years' instalment of all debts. Though, in my opinion, very exceptionable, it is better than the plans of that kind heretofore proposed, and I believe will be adopted, in spite of every opposition that can be made to it. I shall, therefore, instead of pointing the little opposition I can make against the whole,

endeavour to change the plan, by making the consent of the creditor necessary, and the instalments voluntary, and, in such cases, giving the force of judgments to the instalment bonds.

FROM PAUL JONES.

New York, 9 November, 1787.

SIR,

Accounts having arrived, and being credited here, that the British fleet was out, and had been seen steering to the westward, and that a British squadron was cruising in the North Sea, I was advised by my friends not to embark in the French packet that sailed hence the 25th ultimo. I am sorry to have lost that opportunity, as those accounts are now contradicted. I shall embark to-morrow in an American ship, bound for Amsterdam, and have bargained to be landed in France. I shall go directly to Paris, and deliver the two packets you sent to my care immediately on my arrival, with two others from you, that have been since put into my hands, for Mr. Jefferson and the Marquis de Lafayette.

I am exceedingly sorry for the long detention of your letters; but Colonel Carrington, who does me the honor to carry this, can inform you that it has not depended on me to forward them sooner, and that Mr. Jay has had no opportunity till now of sending his despatches to Europe since the month of June. I am, Sir,

With profound respect and perfect esteem, &c.,

PAUL JONES.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 18 November, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 5th instant found me in Philadelphia, whither I had proceeded, under arrangements for proceeding to Virginia or returning to this place, as I might there decide. I did not acknowledge it in Philadelphia, because I had nothing to communicate, which you would not receive more fully and correctly from the Mr. Morris'es, who were setting out for Virginia.

All my informations from Richmond concur in representing the enthusiasm in favor of the new Constitution as subsiding, and giving place to a spirit of criticism. I was fearful of such an event, from the influence and coöperation of some of the adversaries. I do not learn, however, that the cause has lost its majority in the Legislature, and still less among the people at large. I have nothing to add to the information heretofore given concerning the progress of the Constitution in other States. Mr. Gerry has presented his objections to the Legislature in a letter addressed to them, and signified his readiness, if desired, to give the particular reasons on which they were founded. The Legislature, it seems, decline the explanation, either from a supposition that they have nothing further to do in the business, having handed it over to the Convention, or from an unwillingness to countenance Mr. Gerry's conduct; or from both these considerations. It is supposed that the promulgation of this letter will shake the confidence of some, and embolden the opposition of others, in that State; but I cannot discover any

ground for distrusting the prompt and decided concurrence of a large majority.

I inclose herewith the seven first numbers of the *Federalist*, a paper addressed to the people of this State. They relate entirely to the importance of the Union. If the whole plan should be executed, it will present to the public a full discussion of the merits of the proposed Constitution, in all its relations. From the opinion I have formed of the views of a party in Virginia, I am inclined to think that the observations on the first branch of the subject may not be superfluous antidotes in that State, any more than in this. If you concur with me, perhaps the papers may be put into the hand of some of your confidential correspondents at Richmond, who would have them reprinted there. I will not conceal from you that I am likely to have such a degree of connection with the publication here, as to afford a restraint of delicacy from interesting myself directly in the republication elsewhere. You will recognize one of the pens concerned in the task. There are three in the whole. A fourth may possibly bear a part.

The intelligence by the packet, as far as I have collected it, is contained in the *Gazette* of yesterday. Virginia is the only State represented as yet. When a Congress will be formed, is altogether uncertain. It is not very improbable, I think, that the interregnum may continue throughout the winter. With every sentiment of respect and attachment,

I remain, dear Sir, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM THOMAS JOHNSON.

Annapolis, 11 December, 1787.

SIR,

Your favor of the 9th, directed to Mr. Lee and myself, and its inclosure, came to hand to-day very opportunely. The gentlemen of the Assembly purpose to rise next Saturday; and, preparatory to it, resolved, in the morning, to receive no new business after this day. This circumstance precluded all formality; and Mr. Lee being absent, I moved for leave to bring in a bill under the same title as the act passed in Virginia. Leave was granted, and I expect there will be no opposition in any stage of it. I think at present to make a small deviation, by giving the President and Directors their choice to prosecute in the County Courts, which will generally be speedier, or in the General Court.

Our affairs are so embarrassed with a diversity of paper money and paper securities, a sparing imposition and an infamous collection and payment (or rather non-payment) of taxes, that Mr. Hartshorn's repeated applications to our Treasury have proved fruitless, nor can I say when there will be money in hand to answer the three hundred pounds sterling due. Some of our debts are so pressing, that a good many of us Delegates feel very uneasy; and I yet hope a serious attempt for an immediate provision for them, and that the Potomac demand may be included. The present circumstances with respect to the future seat of Congress, in my opinion, call for vigorous exertions to perfect the navigation of Potomac speedily; and it is truly mortifying to see so little prospect of being supplied with the essential means.

Surely five or six hundred miles of inland navigation, added to the central situation and other advantages, would decide in favor of Potomac for the permanent seat of Congress.

Colonel Fitzgerald wrote Mr. Lee and myself to mention the time we could meet at Shenandoah to inquire into complaints against Mr. Steward, in his absence. I could only write him that I would attend at any time that might be agreeable to you and the other gentlemen, after my return home, which will probably be the last of next week. I wish, Sir, your convenience to be consulted, and that it may be convenient and agreeable to you to make my house in your way. Very little notice of the time to meet will be sufficient for me, and I dare say for Mr. Lee.

Late in the last session, I received your letter, relative to Mr. Wilson's application to our Assembly. It was next to impossible then to draw any attention to that, or to investigate any subject, in a proper manner. We had grown impatient in the extreme. On the most diligent and repeated searches since my receipt of your favor of the 22d of November, his papers cannot be found, though Mr. Digges, and some of the other members, have it on memory that, on reading in the House, the business was referred. My own diligence, and that of a gentleman or two besides, has been exerted to prevent the necessity of informing you that so little care is taken of our papers.

The leaven of your State is working in ours. The scale of power, which I always suggested would be the most difficult to settle between the great and small States, as such, was in my opinion very properly adjusted. Any necessary guard for personal liberty is the common interest of all the citizens of

America ; and if it is imagined that a defined power, which does not comprehend the interference with personal rights, needs negative declarations, I presume such may be added by the Federal Legislature with equal efficacy and more propriety than might have been done by the Convention. Strongly and long impressed with an idea that no Government can make a people happy, unless they very generally entertain an opinion that it is good in form and well administered, I am much disposed to give up a good deal in the form, the least essential part. But those who are clamorous, seem to me to be really more afraid of being restrained from doing what they ought not to do, and being compelled to do what they ought to do, than of being obliged to do what there is no moral obligation on them to do. I believe there is no American, of observation, reflection, and candor, but will acknowledge man unhappily needs more government than he imagines. I flatter myself that the plan recommended will be adopted in twelve of the thirteen States, without conditions, *sine quâ non*. But, let the event be as it may, I shall think myself, with America in general, greatly indebted to the Convention ; and possibly we may confess it, when it may be too late to avail ourselves of their moderation and wisdom. You will pardon me, my good Sir, the effusions which I cannot restrain when on this subject ; and believe me to be,

With very great respect, &c.,

THOMAS JOHNSON.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 1 January, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I am fortunate in this opportunity to wish you a happy new year, and to devote the first moments of this day to the heartfelt pleasure to remind you, my beloved General, of your adoptive son and most affectionate, devoted friend. I beg you will present my best respects to Mrs. Washington. Madame de Lafayette joins in the most tender compliments to you and to her; and I hope, my dear General, that you will be so kind as to mention me very affectionately to all the family and friends.

It is needless for me to tell you, that I read the new proposed Constitution with an unspeakable eagerness and attention. I have admired it, and find in it a bold, large, and solid frame for the Confederation. The election principles, with respect to the two Houses of Congress, are most happily calculated. I am only afraid of two things;—first, the want of a declaration of rights; secondly, the great powers and possible continuance of the President, who may one day or other become a Stadtholder. Should my observations be well founded, I still am easy on two accounts. The first, that a bill of rights may be made, if wished by the people, before they accept the Constitution. My other comfort is, that you cannot refuse being elected President; and that, if you think the public vessel can stir without those powers, you will be able to lessen them, or propose measures respecting their permanence, which cannot fail to insure a greater perfection to the Constitution, and a new crop of glory to yourself. But, in the name of America, of man-

kind at large, and your own fame, I beseech you, my dear General, not to deny your acceptance of the office of President for the first years. You only can settle that political machine; and I foresee it will furnish an admirable chapter to your history.

I am returned from the Provincial Assembly of Auvergne, wherein I had the happiness to please the people, and the misfortune to displease the Government to a very high degree. The Ministry asked for an increase of revenue. Our Province was among the few who gave nothing, and she expressed herself in a manner which has been taken very much amiss. The internal situation of France is very extraordinary. The dispositions of the people, of which I gave you a picture, are working themselves into a great degree of fermentation, but not without a mixture of levity and love of ease. The Parliaments are every day passing the boundaries of their Constitution, but are sure to be approved by the nation, when, among many irrational things, they have the good policy to call for a General Assembly. Government see that the power of the Crown is declining, and now want to retrieve it by an ill-timed and dangerous severity. For my part, I am heartily wishing for a Constitution and bill of rights, and wish it may be effected with as much tranquillity and mutual satisfaction as it is possible.

The Emperor has made a foolish attempt on Belgrade, but cannot fail to take it another time, and at the entrance of the spring the two Imperial Courts will open a vigorous and no doubt successful campaign against the Turks. They have been led into a war by Great Britain; and should France take a decisive part, it is more probable she will side with Russia. But this Government will avoid to be com-

mitted in the affair, and perhaps will not be the better for it. The King of Prussia is now courting France, and proposes, I think, to withdraw his regiments from Holland; but this is a very insufficient, and probably a very useless reparation.

Inclosed, my dear General, are an *arrêt* of the Council, and a letter to Mr. Jefferson, both of which, after long negotiations, we have had the satisfaction to obtain. I expected it might be finished before my journey to Auvergne; but new difficulties have arisen, and Mr. Jefferson and myself have but lately ended the business. I am more and more pleased with Mr. Jefferson. His abilities, his virtues, his temper, every thing of him commands respect and attracts affection. He enjoys universal regard, and does the affairs of America to perfection. It is the happiest choice that could be made. Adieu, my dear General. With filial love and respect, I have the honor to be,

Your devoted and affectionate friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Hartford, 9 January, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

With great satisfaction I have the honor to inform you that, last evening, the Convention of this State, by a great majority, voted to ratify and adopt the new proposed Constitution for the United States; yeas one hundred and twenty-seven, nays forty. With additional pleasure I can inform you, that the debates on this subject have been conducted with a spirit of great candor, liberality, and fairness, and the decision received with the universal applause of a numerous

body of the people of the State, who attended the public deliberations of their Convention, and expressed their cordial assent, on the moment of decision, with a general clap.

The great unanimity with which this decision has been made, and the liberality with which its previous deliberations have been conducted in this State, I hope will have a happy influence on the minds of our brethren in Massachusetts. Their Convention is now collecting, and will be favored with this information to-morrow. It may not be amiss to mention that, in the list of affirmants in this State, stand the names of all our principal characters, with the men of liberality, sentiment, and influence.

Although not honored with the appointment as a Delegate (being, in my particular circle, under the cloud of Commutation and Cincinnati), I have attended the debates of this Convention from their beginning to the close, and have been amply compensated by the pleasure, the satisfaction, and instruction I have participated on the occasion. With all those sentiments of sincere cordiality and respect with which I have ever had the honor to address you, my dear Sir,

I now have the pleasure to subscribe myself, &c.,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

P. S. While I take the pleasure of congratulating you, Sir, on this joyous occasion, I pray you to indulge my wishes in begging you to present my sincerest respects to Mrs. Washington, with my tender solicitations for her health and happiness.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 25 January, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favored, since my last, with yours of the 10th instant, with a copy of the Governor's letter to the Assembly. I do not know what impression the latter may make in Virginia. It is generally understood here that the arguments contained in it in favor of the Constitution are much stronger than the objections which prevented his assent. His arguments are forcible in all places, and with all persons. His objections are connected with his particular way of thinking on the subject, in which many of the adversaries to the Constitution do not concur.

The information from Boston by the mail, on the evening before last, has not removed our suspense. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. King, dated on the 16th instant;—

“We may have three hundred and sixty members in our Convention. Not more than three hundred and thirty have yet taken their seats. Immediately after the settlement of elections, the Convention resolved that they would consider and freely deliberate on each paragraph, without taking a question on any of them individually; and that, on the question whether they would ratify, each member should be at liberty to discuss the plan at large. This resolution seems to preclude the idea of amendments, and hitherto the measure has not been suggested. I however do not, from this circumstance, conclude that it may not hereafter occur.

“The opponents of the Constitution moved that Mr. Gerry should be requested to take a seat in the

Convention, to answer such inquiries as the Convention should make concerning facts which happened in the passing of the Constitution. Although this seems to be a very irregular proposal, yet, considering the jealousies which prevail with those who made it (who are certainly not the most enlightened part of the Convention), and the doubt of the issue, had it been made a trial of strength, several friends of the Constitution united with the opponents, and the resolution was agreed to, and Mr. Gerry has taken his seat. To-morrow, we are told, certain inquiries are to be moved for by the opposition, and that Mr. Gerry, under the idea of stating facts, is to state his reasons, &c. This will be opposed; and we shall, on the division, be able to form some idea of our relative strength. From the men who are in favor of the Constitution, any reasonable explanation will be given; and arguments really new, and in my judgment, most excellent, have been and will be produced in its support. But what will be its fate, I confess I am unable to discern. No question ever classed the people of this State in a more extraordinary manner, or with more apparent firmness."

A Congress of seven States was made up on Monday. Mr. Cyrus Griffin has been placed in the Chair. This is the only step yet taken. I remain, with the highest respect and attachment, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Boston, 27 January, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have the pleasure of inclosing two newspapers,

in which are the debates of the Convention to Saturday, the 19th. They are not forward enough to give your Excellency a just state of the business. I therefore am induced to observe that, yesterday, we were on the ninth section. The opposition seem now inclined to hurry over the business, and bring on, as soon as possible, the main question. However, this they are not permitted to do. It is pretty well known what objections are on the minds of the people; it becomes, therefore, necessary to obviate them, if possible. We have, hitherto, done this with success. The opposition see it, and are alarmed, for there are a vast many people attending in the galleries (we now assemble in one of our meeting-houses), and most of the arguments are published in the papers. Both are of use.

Your Excellency will see, in the paper, propositions for adopting the Constitution on conditions. This will not be attended to. It is possible, if we adopt it absolutely, that the Convention may recommend certain amendments. It will never, I presume, be adopted on any conditions. It will pass absolutely, or be rejected. I have now higher expectations that it will pass than when I last wrote. I think the friends to it increase daily. However, I would not raise your Excellency's expectations too high. It is yet impossible to determine, absolutely, its fate. Mr. Gerry, as mentioned in my last, left the Convention in dudgeon. He has not since returned to it. I presume he will not return. With the highest esteem,

I have the honor of being, my dear General, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Boston, 3 February, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Your Excellency will find, by the papers of yesterday, which I do myself the pleasure to inclose, that the Governor has taken his seat as President of the Convention; and that he came forward with a motion for the adoption of the Constitution, and subjoined a recommendation that some alterations may take place in it. The motion has taken up a considerable time. Those in the opposition want the Constitution to be accepted *upon condition* that the alterations be made. This they will not be able to carry.

Yesterday noon, a motion was made that the motion under consideration should be committed. This was agreed to, and a large Committee was raised, consisting of two members from each of the large counties, and of one for two small ones. It was also agreed that each county should nominate their own members, and that they should take one who had given his opinion for, and one who had given his opinion against, the Constitution, in each county wherein two were chosen. I expect they will report tomorrow afternoon, to which time the Convention stands adjourned. I hope good will arise from the measure, and that the main question will be taken by Wednesday next. The gentlemen in the opposition urge that the Governor's motion ought to be divided, and that the first question be taken simply, "Whether they will or will not accept the Constitution." They are opposed in this, and I hope the large Committee will adjust the matter, and put an end to any further dispute upon the question.

We find ourselves exceedingly embarrassed by the temper which raged the last winter in some of the counties. Many of the insurgents are in the Convention; even some of Shays's officers. A great proportion of those men are high in the opposition. We could hardly expect any thing else; nor could we, I think, justly suppose that those men, who were so lately intoxicated with large draughts of liberty, and who were thirsting for more, would, in so short a time, submit to a Constitution which would further take up the reins of Government which, in their opinion, were too strait before. I hope people abroad will consider this matter, and make proper allowances for a clog of this kind. I think the Constitution will pass. I have the honor of being, my dear General,

With perfect esteem, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 3 February, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

Another mail has arrived from Boston, without terminating the conflict between our hopes and fears. I have a letter from Mr. King of the 27th, which, after dilating somewhat on the ideas in his former letters, concludes with the following paragraph;—

“We have avoided every question, which would have shown the division of the House. Of consequence, we are not positive of the members on each side. By the last calculation we made on our side, we were doubtful whether we exceeded them, or they us, in numbers. They, however, say that they have

a majority of eight or twelve against us. We by no means despair."

Another letter of the same date, from another member, gives the following picture ;—

"Never was there an Assembly in this State in possession of greater ability and information than the present Convention ; yet I am in doubt whether they will approve the Constitution. There are, unhappily, three parties opposed to it. First ; all men who are in favor of paper money and tender laws. Those are more or less in every part of the State. Second ; all the late insurgents and their abettors. In the three great western counties they are very numerous. We have in the Convention eighteen or twenty who were actually in Shays's army. Third ; a great majority of the members from the Province of Maine. Many of them and their constituents are only squatters upon other people's land, and they are afraid of being brought to account. They also think, though erroneously, that their favorite plan of being a separate State will be defeated. Add to these, the honest, doubting people, and they make a powerful host. The leaders of this party are a Mr. Widgery, Mr. Thomson, and Mr. Nason, from the Province of Maine ; a Dr. Taylor, from the county of Worcester, and Mr. Bishop, from the neighbourhood of Rhode Island.

"To manage the cause against them, are the present and late Governor, three Judges of the Supreme Court, fifteen members of the Senate, twenty from among the most respectable of the Clergy, ten or twelve of the first characters at the Bar, Judges of Probate, High Sheriffs of counties, and many other respectable people, merchants, &c. ; Generals Heath, Lincoln, Brooks, and others of the late army. With all this ability in support of the cause, I am pretty

well satisfied we shall lose the question, unless we can take off some of the opposition by amendments. I do not mean such as are to be made conditions of the ratification, but recommendatory only. Upon this plan I flatter myself we may possibly get a majority of twelve or fifteen, if not more."

The Legislature of this State has voted a Convention on June 17th. I remain, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Boston, 6 February, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

The Convention this evening ratified the Constitution; present, three hundred and fifty-five members; one hundred and eighty-seven yeas, and one hundred and sixty-eight nays; nineteen majority in favor of the adoption.

As I mentioned to you in my last, the spirit which operated the last winter had its influence in the appointment of members for the Convention, and was a clog upon us through the whole business. To this source may be ascribed the great opposition we have experienced through the long debates, and the smallness of the majority. I hope the neighbouring States will consider this, and not suffer it to weigh in their decisions.

Yesterday there was a motion for an adjournment, which cost us the whole day. Upon the question at evening, there were about one hundred majority against it; this was a damper upon the opposition, and they had little hope after. When, this evening, the question went against them, some of the leaders

arose, and assured the Convention, that they were convinced that the debates had been conducted with fairness and candor, and that they should return with dispositions to satisfy the minds of their constituents, and to preserve the peace and order of the people at large. I hope and trust they will, and that we shall soon enjoy the blessings of a good government.

I shall continue to write to your Excellency, whilst any thing relative to this great subject shall turn up here worthy your notice. Forgive the haste; the post-office will be shut. And believe me, with the sincerest esteem and regard,

My dear General, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

P. S. Upon the issue of the question, every demonstration of joy was discovered among the people.

FROM JAMES MADISON, IN CONGRESS.

New York, 20 February, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I am just favored with yours of the 7th instant, and will attend to your wishes as to the political essays in the press.

I have given notice to my friends in Orange, that the county may command my services in the Convention, if it pleases. I can say, with great truth, however, that in this overture I sacrifice every private inclination to considerations not of a selfish nature. I foresee that the undertaking will involve me in very laborious and irksome discussions; that public opposition to several very respectable characters,

whose esteem and friendship I greatly prize, may unintentionally endanger the subsisting connection; and that disagreeable misconstructions, of which samples have been already given, may be the fruit of those exertions which fidelity will impose. But I have made up my determination on the subject; and, if I am informed that my presence at the election in the county be indispensable, shall submit to that condition also, though it is my particular wish to decline it, as well to avoid apparent solicitude on the occasion, as a journey of such length at a very unpleasant season.

I had seen the extract of your letter to Colonel Carter, and had supposed, from the place where it first made its appearance, that its publication was the effect of the zeal of a correspondent. I cannot but think, on the whole, that it may have been of service, notwithstanding the scandalous misinterpretations of it which have been attempted. As it has evidently the air of a paragraph to a familiar friend, the omissions of an argumentative support of the opinion given, will appear to no candid reader unnatural or improper.

We have no late information from Europe, except through the English papers, which represent the affairs of France as in the most ticklish state. The facts have every appearance of authenticity, and we wait with great impatience for the packet, which is daily expected. It can be little doubted that the patriots have been abandoned; whether from impotency in France, misconduct in them, or from what other cause, is not altogether clear. The French apologists are visibly embarrassed by the dilemma of submitting to the appearance of either weakness, or the want of faith. They seem generally to allege, that their en-

gagements being with the Republic, the nation could not oppose the regular authority of the country, by supporting a single Province, or perhaps a single party in it only. The validity of this excuse will depend much on the real connection between France and the patriots, and the assurances given as an encouragement to the latter. From the British King's speech, it would seem that France had avowed her purpose of supporting her Dutch friends, though it is possible her menaces to England might be carried farther than her real promises to the patriots. All these circumstances, however, must have galled the pride of France; and I have little doubt that a war will prove it, as soon as her condition will admit of it. Perhaps she may be the sooner forced into it on account of her being in a contrary situation. I hear nothing yet from the Convention of New Hampshire.

I remain, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JOHN LANGDON.

Portsmouth, 28 February, 1788.

SIR,

The Convention of this State met the 13th instant, to take into consideration the federal plan of Government. Contrary to the expectation of almost every thinking man, a small majority of (say, four) persons appeared against the system. This was the most astonishing to every man of any information, as Massachusetts had accepted it, and this State in particular had every thing to gain, and nothing to lose, by the adoption of the Government; and almost every man of property and abilities, for it. However, this

can be accounted for. Just at the moment that the choice for members for our Convention, in one of our principal counties, took place, a report was circulated by a few designing men, who wished for confusion, that the Massachusetts Convention, who had just met, were against the plan, and would certainly refuse it; that the liberties of the people were in danger, and the great men, as they call them, were forming a plan for themselves; together with a thousand other absurdities, which frightened the people almost out of what little senses they had.

This induced them to choose not only such men as were against the plan, but to instruct them positively against receiving it. The absurdity of such conduct, is too plain to observe upon. However, notwithstanding the exertion of the opponents, both without doors and within, after spending ten days in debating on the plan, a number of those gentlemen who came from home with different sentiments, were convinced of their mistake, and only wished an opportunity to lay the matter before their constituents. This they mentioned to those in favor of the plan, who, seeing the difficulty which those men labored under, and the uncertainty of the vote, if the general question was then called for, agreed that I should move for an adjournment to some future day to take the final question. This was done, and carried. The Convention adjourned, to meet the 3d day of June next, though greatly opposed by those against the plan.

That this State must and will receive it, I have but very little doubt, notwithstanding their late conduct, which, to be sure, is very mortifying, as we have every thing to expect from its adoption.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN LANGDON.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Orange, 10 April, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

Having seen a part only of the names returned for the Convention, and being unacquainted with the political characters of many of them, I am a very incompetent prophet of the fate of the Constitution. My hopes, however, are much encouraged by my present conjectures. Those who have more data for their calculations than I have, augur a flattering issue to the deliberations of June. I find that Colonel Nicholas, who is among the best judges, thinks, on the whole, that a majority in the Convention will be on the list of federalists; but very properly takes into view the turn that may be given to the event by the weight of Kentucky, if thrown into the wrong scale, and by the proceedings of Maryland and South Carolina, if they should terminate in either a rejection or postponement of the question.

The impression on Kentucky, like that on the rest of the State, was at first answerable to our wishes; but, as elsewhere, the torch of discord has been thrown in, and has found the materials but too inflammable. I have written several letters, since my arrival, to correspondents in that district, with a view to counteract antifederal machinations. I have little expectation, however, that they will have much effect, unless the communications that may go from Mr. Brown, in Congress, should happen to breathe the same spirit; and I am not without apprehensions that his mind may have taken an unlucky tincture from the difficulties thrown in the way of the separation of the district, as well as from some antecedent proceedings

of Congress. I have taken the liberty of writing also to a friend in South Carolina, on the critical importance of a right decision there to a favorable one here. The inclosed letter, which I leave unsealed, will show you that I am doing the same with respect to Maryland. Will you be so good as to put a wafer in it, and to send it to the post-office for Georgetown, or to change the address to Annapolis, if you should have reason to conclude that Mr. Carroll will be there? I have written a similar letter to Dr. McHenry. The difference between even a postponement and adoption in Maryland, may, in the nice balance of parties here, possibly give a fatal advantage to that which opposes the Constitution.

I have done nothing yet in preparing answers to the queries. As facts are to be ascertained, as well as opinions formed, delay will be of course counted upon. With every sentiment of respect and attachment,

I remain, dear Sir, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Charleston, 24 May, 1788.

DEAR GENERAL,

South Carolina has ratified the Federal Constitution. Our Convention assembled the 12th instant, and yesterday the vote of ratification was taken;—one hundred and forty-nine ayes, and seventy-three noes. I inclose you a list of the members who voted on each side. You will be pleased to find, that the names you are best acquainted with were in favor of the Constitution, and that those who were against it

have declared they would do all in their power to reconcile their constituents to its adoption, and would exert themselves in its support.

Mrs. Pinckney joins me in tendering our best respects to Mrs. Washington and yourself, and to Major Washington and his lady; and I remain,

With sincere gratitude, for all your favors, &c.,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

P. S. Major Butler, out of a principle of delicacy too refined, declined serving in the State Convention. You will not therefore see his name among the yeas or nays.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 25 May, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

In the midst of our internal troubles, it is a comfort to me that I may rejoice in the happy prospects that open before my adoptive country. Accounts from America give me every reason to hope the new Constitution will be adopted. Permit me once more, my beloved General, to insist on your acceptance of the Presidency. The Constitution, as it is proposed, answers most of the purposes; but, unless I am much mistaken, there are some parts which would not be quite free of some danger, had not the United States the good fortune to possess their guardian angel, who may feel the advantages and inconveniences of every article, and will be able, before he retires again, to ascertain to what degree Government must necessarily be energetic, what power might be diverted into a bad use, and to point out the means to attain that

perfection to which the new Constitution is already nearer than any past or present Government.

The affairs of France are come to a crisis; the more difficult to manage, as the people in general have no inclination to go to extremities. *Liberty or death* is not the motto on this side of the Atlantic; and, as all classes are more or less dependent, as the rich love their ease, and the poor are depressed by want and ignorance, the only way is to reason or persuade the nation into a kind of passive discontent or non-obedience, which may tire out the levity, and undo the plans, of Government. The Parliaments, notwithstanding the inconveniences attending them, have been necessary champions to stand forth. You will see by the publications (for we have sent over every thing), that the King has assumed pretensions, and the Courts of Justice have stated principles, which so widely differ, that one could hardly believe those assertions were made in the same country and century. Matters could not rest there.

Government have employed the force of arms against unarmed magistrates, and expelled them. And the people? you will say. The people, my dear General, have been so dull, that it has made me sick, and physicians have been obliged to cool my inflamed blood. What has the more wound up my anger, is a *Bed of Justice* wherein the King has established a *Cour Plénière*, composed of Judges, Peers, and courtiers, without a single Representative. And these Ministers had the impudence to say, that all taxes and loans should be registered. Thank God, we have got the better! and I begin to hope for a Constitution. The Magistrates have refused sitting in the *Cour Plénière*. The Peers, who are thirty-eight (a few of them have sense and courage), will not, how-

ever obey. Some, like my friend La Rochefoucauld, behave nobly; the others follow at a distance. The Parliaments have unanimously protested, and made an appeal to the nation. Most of the inferior Courts reject the new regimen. Discontents break out everywhere, and in some Provinces are not despicable. The clergy, who happen to have an Assembly, are remonstrating. The lawyers refuse to plead. Government is embarrassed, and begins to apologize. Their Commandants have been in some parts pursued with dirt and stones; and, in the midst of these troubles and anarchy, the friends of liberty are daily reënforced, shut up their ears against negotiations, and say they must have a National Assembly, or nothing. Such is, my dear General, our bettering situation; and I am, for my part, very easy, when I think that I shall, before long, be in an Assembly of the Representatives of the French nation, or at Mount Vernon.

I am so taken up with these affairs, that I can tell you but little of the European politics. My disapprobation of Ministerial plans, and what little exertions I could make against them, have induced me to cease my visits to the Archbishop's house; and the more I have been connected with him and the Keeper of the Seals, the greater indignation I have professed against their infernal plan.

I am glad our American *Arrêt du Conseil* has taken place before the full tide of these troubles; and am now, through other Ministers, endeavouring to bring about a plan for the total enfranchisement of duties on whale oil, which would put the American merchants on the same footing with the French, even with respect to bounties, and that without obliging the fishermen to leave their native shores. Should

we succeed in that, our next object must be the trade with the West Indies.

I am happy in the Ambassador we have in this country; and nothing can excel Mr. Jefferson's abilities, virtues, pleasing temper, and every thing in him that constitutes the great statesman, zealous citizen, and amiable friend. He has a young gentleman with him, Mr. Short, a Virginian, who is a very able, engaging, and honest man. This letter will be delivered by M. de Warville, a man of letters, who has written a pamphlet against Chastellux's journal; but is, however, very clever, and wishes very much to be presented to you. He intends to write the history of America, and is, of course, very desirous to have a peep at your papers, which appears to me a deserved condescension, as he is very fond of America, writes pretty well, and will set matters in a proper light. He has an officer with him whom I also beg leave to recommend; M. de la Tenière is his name.

But to come to politics. I must tell you that the war between the Imperial Powers and the Turks is going on. The Emperor has made several attempts; but there is a fatality in that man which makes him ever begin and never finish any thing. The skirmishes have generally been doubtful. He has taken a town; but was severely brushed in another assault, and the same day met with a second defeat. These matters, however trifling, show that the Turks are either very ill-attacked, or more lucky than we did expect. The siege of Belgrade will be the grand expedition that way, and is not begun. There has been a junction made of the Austrians and Russians in another quarter; but they have not sufficient means to operate. The grand army of the Russians are moving towards Oczakow, which Prince Potemkin, a

former lover and the bosom friend of the Empress, is going to besiege. Paul Jones has entered the Russian service, and will command a squadron on the Black Sea. All the powers are negotiating for a peace; but, at the same time, Sweden and Denmark are arming. There will be observation fleets; and it is expected that a peace will take place this winter. We must, of course, wish for decisive actions. Should they be unfavorable to the Christians, it may disgust them; and you never can get a concession from the Turks, until the Prophet has shown his displeasure, by suffering them to be flogged. In case both parties maintain their ground, a general war is apprehended for the next year.

I beg, my dear General, you will present my most affectionate respects to Mrs. Washington and to your respected mother. Remember me to the family, the young ones, your relations; to all friends. Madame de Lafayette and children join in the best respects to you and Mrs. Washington. My younger daughter, Virginia, is now under inoculation. Adieu, my beloved General. I do not live one day without grieving for the hard separation which deprives me of the blessed sight of what is dearest to me, and leaves me so few opportunities to tell you, with all the love of a devoted heart, that I am, forever, with the most affectionate respect,

Your filial, grateful friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM TOBIAS LEAR.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2 June, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

As I know you feel deeply interested in the fate

of the proposed Constitution, considering its adoption or rejection as deciding upon the happiness and prosperity of your fellow-citizens, I shall take the liberty to give you an account of its present situation in this State, so far as I have been able to learn it from the best information which I can obtain; begging, at the same time, that you will not answer this, or any other letter which I may write to you before my return, unless something more particular (which I do not at present know of) should require it; because I am so well acquainted with your numerous avocations, as to be sensible that you have not, especially at this busy season, an hour that could be conveniently spared.

I was surprised to find, in conversing with some of the first characters here, that so little information respecting the Constitution had been diffused among the people of this State. There have been few or no original publications in the papers, and scarcely any republications. The valuable numbers of *Publius* are not known. The debates of the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts Conventions have been read but by few persons; and many other pieces, which contained useful information, have never been heard of. *Fabius* is now republishing in the papers of this town; and as the papers under this signature are written with perspicuity and candor, I presume they will have a good effect. The enemies of the Constitution have been indefatigable in disseminating their opinions, personally, among the interior inhabitants of this State; and, had they acted like good politicians, would effectually have prevented its adoption here. But, instead of alarming the fears of the people, by telling them that their immediate and individual interest would be affected by the adoption of the Constitution, they ac-

knowledge that this State would be more benefited thereby than any other in the Union; but declared that, if the Constitution obtained, the rights and liberties of all American citizens would be destroyed, and that the people of this State, as a part of the community, would suffer in the general wreck.

This apparent disinterestedness and patriotism was relished for some time, and was the means of producing so large and unexpected an opposition in the last Convention. But, since that period, the friends to the proposed system have been at some pains to counteract their opponents by personal information; and their success, they say, is as great as they could wish. For the people, upon reflecting, and duly considering those characters who had stood forth as the champions of the general rights of America, were convinced that they had been imposed upon by a specious parade of patriotism, and thought it highly absurd to pretend that the inhabitants of other States were not as competent to the judging of what was injurious to their liberties as they were, and, as they have more to hope and less to fear from its obtaining than almost any other State, it would be doing injustice to themselves not to accept it.

This is taken to be now the general sentiment which prevails; and I think the friends to the Constitution would not feel so secure of its adoption as they do (after the unexpected opposition which they met with last winter), unless they were possessed of some certain information to ground their faith upon: They now only appear to be mortified, that New Hampshire will not make the ninth State, as it is probable South Carolina and Virginia will adopt it before them, and coming in at the tenth hour, will rather have the appearance of submitting to, than ac-

cepting of it. The only method which can be devised to save appearances, is to adopt it before the ratification can reach them from Virginia. This they expect to do, as it is thought the Convention will not be many days in session.

You will be so obliging as to tender my best respects to Mrs. Washington; and believe me to be, with sentiments of the highest respect and warmest attachment, my dear Sir, &c.,

TOBIAS LEAR.

FROM BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Boston, 3 June, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have had the pleasure of receiving the several letters, answers to those which I have had the honor of writing to your Excellency. In one of my last, I suggested to your Excellency what appeared to me to be the temper of our last House of Representatives relative to the new Constitution, and my apprehensions lest the same spirit which they possessed would be by them diffused through the different parts of the State. Their professed design was to shift the Governor, and to appoint one, and a Lieutenant-Governor, of their own sentiments. Hence federalism and antifederalism were pitted one against the other. The antifederalists were in hopes of throwing such an influence into the Government by a change of its officers, as to prevent an organization of the General Government by this State, should it be adopted by nine.

Mr. Hancock was put up by the federalists, and Mr. Gerry by the opposite party, for Governor. Mr. Adams and Mr. Lincoln were put up by the federalists as Lieutenant-Governor, and General Warren by

the other party. The division of votes between Adams and Lincoln, prevented a choice of Lieutenant-Governor by the people. They had about two thirds of the votes. General Warren had the greatest part of the remainder. As no person was chosen, the four gentlemen who had the most votes were, by our Constitution, candidates from whom the House must choose two, and send their names to the Senate, one of whom must be chosen by them Lieutenant-Governor. Adams, Warren, Gerry, and Lincoln, were the candidates. The votes for them by the people stood as follows;—Warren, six thousand one hundred and fifty-seven; Adams, three thousand four hundred and ninety-five; Gerry, six hundred and sixty-nine; Lincoln, ten thousand two hundred and four. Warren and Lincoln were returned to the Senate. They elected Lincoln, who had twenty votes out of twenty-eight. He accepted the trust. I hope he will discharge the duties of his office with fidelity.

I have been thus particular in returning the numbers (as the contest, as I said before, seemed to be between the federalists and those of a different character), that you might judge of the temper of the people, and of the state of the parties. Federalism is manifestly fast gaining ground. In our last House of Representatives, the antifederalists could carry any vote they pleased; and there cannot be a doubt but, if it had been with them to determine the question, they would instantly have rejected the Constitution with triumph. In the present House it has, I am confident, a great majority in its favor, much greater than it had in the Convention. In this State, the people are manifestly returning to that train of thinking and line of duty, necessary, and indeed indispensable, to their well-being.

Though the majority have much to do, yet they must take care that they do not do too much; the utmost good temper and moderation must be used, and we must make haste slowly. On the whole, if we act with judgment, temper, and moderation, we shall, I have no doubt, in a short time, have a Government established, the influences of which will not only promote and preserve the happiness and interest of the United States, but the beneficial effects of it will be enjoyed by all the different nations of the world.

I wish my most dutiful respects to Mrs. Washington, and that the children may be assured and early taught that General Lincoln loves them, and that he wishes they may live long, live happily, and be the most honored and useful among their brethren. With the sincerest esteem,

I have the honor of being, my dear General, &c.,
BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM TOBIAS LEAR.

Portsmouth, 22 June, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you, that the Constitution was yesterday adopted by the Convention of this State, after a session of four days. The number in favor of the adoption was fifty-seven; against it, forty-six. The majority, though small, is very respectable, as it is pretty well ascertained, that at least three fourths of the property, and a larger proportion of the abilities in the State, are friendly to the proposed system. The opposition here, as has generally been the case, was composed of men who

were involved in debt, and of consequence would be averse to any Government which was likely to abolish their tender laws, and cut off every hope of accomplishing their favorite plan of introducing a paper currency. The behaviour of the minority, except a few, was however candid and conciliatory; and the event was peculiarly pleasing to every inhabitant of this town and its vicinity.

The independent companies of horse and the militia will assemble to-morrow to conduct his Excellency, President Langdon, into town; but, whether there will be any procession, as has been exhibited in other places on the occasion, I do not know, but think there will not. I take the liberty to inclose a copy of the amendments recommended by this Convention. They were drawn up more with a view of softening and conciliating the adoption to some who were moderate in their opposition, than from an expectation that they would ever be ingrafted into the Constitution.

I hope to be at Mount Vernon some time in the latter part of July, or first of August. My inclination would lead me there sooner, was that alone to be consulted; but there are several matters to be settled relative to my father's estate, which require my attention, and which will detain me in this part of the Continent a few weeks longer than I expected. You will be so obliging as to give my best respects to Mrs. Washington; and be assured that I am, my dear Sir,

With the warmest affection and highest respect, &c.,
TOBIAS LEAR.

P. S. The Constitution was ratified on Saturday, at one o'clock, P. M. I am thus particular, as Virginia might have adopted it on the same day, and, in

that case, the hour must be known, to determine which was the ninth State.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Richmond, 25 June, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

We got through the Constitution by paragraphs to-day. To-morrow some proposition for closing the business will be made. On our side a ratification, involving a few declaratory truths, not affecting its validity, will be tendered. The opposition will urge previous amendments. Their conversation to-day seemed to betray despair. Colonel Mason, in particular, talked in a style which no other sentiment could have produced. He held out the idea of civil convulsions, as the effects of obtruding the Government on the people. He was answered by several; and concluded with declaring his determination, for himself, to acquiesce in the event, whatever it might be. Mr. H——y endeavoured to gloss what had fallen from his friend, declared his aversion to the Constitution to be such that he could not take the oath; but that he would remain in peaceable submission to the result. We calculate on a majority, but a bare one. It is possible, nevertheless, that some adverse circumstance may happen.

I am, dear Sir, in haste, &c.,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Poughkeepsie, 4 July, 1788.

I congratulate you, my dear Sir, on the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia. That event has disappointed the expectation of opposition here, which nevertheless continues pertinacious. The unanimity of the southern district, and their apparent determination to continue under the wings of the Union, operate powerfully on the minds of the opposite party. The Constitution constantly gains advocates among the people, and its enemies in the Convention seem to be much embarrassed.

8 July, 1788.

We have gone through the Constitution in a Committee of the Whole. We finished yesterday morning. The amendments proposed are numerous. How we are to consider them, is yet a question, which a day or two more must answer. A bill of rights has been offered, with a view, as they say, of having it incorporated in the *ratification*. The ground of *rejection*, therefore, seems to be entirely deserted. We understand that a Committee will this day be appointed to arrange the amendments. We learn from Albany that an affray happened there, on the 4th instant, between the two parties, in which near thirty were wounded, some few very dangerously. From what I have just heard, the party begins to divide in their opinions. Some insist on *previous* conditional amendments. A greater number will be satisfied with *subsequent* conditional amendments; or, in other words, they are for ratifying the Constitution on condition that certain

amendments take place within a given time. These circumstances afford room for hope. With the greatest respect and esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and humble servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM JOHN JAY.

Poughkeepsie, 17 July, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

Since my arrival here, I have written you two or three hasty letters. Being constantly involved in business or company, from which it would not be here very practicable, or perhaps prudent, to retreat, I have been able to write but very little. The Convention this moment adjourned, and I am writing in their chamber. A question being about to be put on the mode of adoption (which you have seen), we moved that the House adjourn for a month or two. It was yesterday carried against us. The former question was again pressed with earnestness. At that period Mr. M. Smith, seconded by Mr. Platt (both of whom dislike the Constitution, and are classed with its opposers) proposed the mode of adoption, of which the above is a copy. Their own party were not pleased, and the House adjourned.

This morning it was expected that the question to postpone the former plan, and proceed to the consideration of the latter, would be put. The House went into a Committee of the Whole, according to the order of the day. A long silence ensued. The party seemed embarrassed, fearful to divide among themselves, and yet many of them were averse to the new plan. The Committee rose, and the House adjourned, with very little opposition. It is difficult

to conjecture what may be done out of doors to-day. I am inclined to think that the new plan will expel the other, and I wish it may; not because I approve of it, but because I prefer it, as being less exceptionable than the other. With the greatest respect and esteem, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and humble servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM WILLIAM TUDOR.

Boston, 26 July, 1788.

SIR,

The strong attachment which I know you have always felt, and in a variety of instances demonstrated, for the State of Massachusetts, induces me to send you, what is here considered an interesting pamphlet, which, with great impartiality, states the rise, causes, and happy termination of the late most alarming insurrections in this Commonwealth. The author is a young lawyer, and Clerk to our lower House of Assembly. He had the best sources of information; and his little history carries the marks of intelligence and candor in every page of it.

A suppressed rebellion always adds energy to the Government; and perhaps the late one in our State was a fortunate event. It is true that it cost some lives, and added eighty thousand pounds to our public debt. But its entire extinction has confirmed the Constitution, given security and stability to property, and most thoroughly tamed many turbulent spirits in all parts of the State. To universal discontent, the most violent party animosity, and a very alarming decline of industry and manufactures, have succeeded content, quiet and productive labor.

The exports of our State exceeded the imports last year by two hundred and thirty thousand pounds and upwards. And we have now rose to be the third exporting State in the Confederacy. The town of Boston alone that year exported twelve hundred and thirteen thousand pounds. And it has been considered, in another point of view, as being still more beneficial, from aiding the erection of the great Federal Fabric, which was so boldly conceived in the General Convention at Philadelphia, and which now, it is beyond a doubt, will be ratified by the people.

But it is not, I confess, so much with a design of furnishing you, my dear Sir, with the complete information contained in the pamphlet, that I have taken the liberty of transmitting it, as it is from a desire of evidencing that respect and gratitude which I must ever personally feel for you. The early and particular favors I experienced from you, at a critical period of my life, and which continued during the time I was in the army, will never be forgot until I shall cease to consider you as the saviour of our country. That you may very long live to enjoy the honest fame, which was so arduously and nobly acquired, and which you so fully possess by the consent of all mankind, is the fervent wish of, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, humble servant,

WILLIAM TUDOR.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

New York, 28 July, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

It is with the most sincere satisfaction that I congratulate you on the unconditional adoption of the

Constitution by the Convention of this State. The particulars of this important event are contained in this day's paper, herein inclosed.

Messrs. Jay, Hamilton, and the rest of the federalists, have derived great honor from their temperate and wise conduct during the tedious debate on this subject. Nor ought those gentlemen who were opposed to the Constitution in the first instance, but afterwards voted for its adoption, be deprived of their due share of praise for their candor and wisdom in assuming different conduct, when it became apparent that a perseverance in opposition would most probably terminate in civil war; for such, and nothing short of it, were the prospects.

We have now, thank Heaven, eleven States which have adopted the system. Conduct and wisdom, almost superior to the lot of humanity, will be required in the first outset of the new Constitution. Congress will soon publish an ordinance for the necessary elections and organization. The times of election and period of organization will not be difficult to be determined; but the place where they shall assemble will be warmly contested. The two places generally thought on are Philadelphia and New York. At present it is difficult to say in favor of which it will be determined. A few days more will explain the matter.

I shall set out in a few days for the Province of Maine, and be absent six weeks or two months. On my return, I shall do myself the pleasure of addressing you. I have hitherto refrained from acknowledging the receipt of your kind favor of the 17th of June, as the affairs in the Convention were so gloomily circumstanced. But it is now dissipated. Governor Clinton has most perseveringly opposed the Con-

stitution ; and, from being in the majority during almost the whole time, he has found himself so much deserted as to be in the minority. A precise history of his conduct is difficult to be written, and must be left to him to explain.

Mrs. Knox and her little family are well. She unites with me in presenting our affectionate respects to you and Mrs. Washington. I am, my dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and humble servant,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

New York, 15 August, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I have been duly favored with yours of the 3d instant. The length of the interval, since my last, has proceeded from a daily expectation of being able to communicate the final arrangements for introducing the new Government. The place of meeting has undergone much discussion, as you conjectured, and still remains to be fixed. Philadelphia was first named, and negatived by a voice from Delaware. New York came forward next ; Lancaster was opposed to it, and failed. Baltimore was next tried, and, to the surprise of every one, had seven votes. It was easy to see that that ground, had it been free from objection, was not maintainable. Accordingly, the next day New York was inserted in the place of it, with the aid of the vote of Rhode Island. Rhode Island has, however, refused to give a final vote in the business, and has actually retired from Congress. The question will now be resumed between New York and Philadelphia.

It was much to be wished that a fit place for a respectable outset to the Government could be found more central than either. The former is inadmissible, if any regard is to be had to the southern or western country. It is so with me, for another reason; that it tends to stop the final and permanent seat short of the Potomac, certainly, and probably in the State of New Jersey. I know this to be one of the views of the advocates for New York. The only chance the Potomac has, is to get things in such a train that a coalition may take place between the Southern and Eastern States on the subject; and, still more, that the final seat may be undecided for two or three years, within which period the western and south-western population will enter more into the estimate. Wherever Congress may be, the choice, if speedily made, will not be sufficiently influenced by that consideration. In this point of view, I am of opinion Baltimore would have been unfriendly to the true object. It would have retained Congress but a moment (so many States being north of it, and dissatisfied with it), and would have produced a coalition among those States to a precipitate election of the permanent seat, and an intermediate removal to a more northern position.

You will have seen the circular letter for the Convention of this State. It has a most pestilent tendency. If an early General Convention cannot be parried, it is seriously to be feared that the system, which has resisted so many direct attacks, may be at last successfully undermined by its enemies. It is now, perhaps, to be wished that Rhode Island may not accede till this new crisis of danger be over. Some think it would have been better if even New York had held out till the operation of the Govern-

ment could have dissipated the fears which artifice had created, and the attempts resulting from those fears and artifices. We hear nothing yet from North Carolina, more than comes by the way of Petersburg. With the highest respect and attachment, I remain, dear Sir,

Your affectionate servant,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JOHN JAY.

New York, 21 September, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

Your ideas relative to the diffusion of intelligence and useful information, by means of newspapers and the press, appear to me exceedingly just; nor do I perceive any good objection to preferring the stages to post-riders, for the transportation of the mail. On the contrary, I think the balance of advantages is clearly in favor of the former.

How far it was the duty of the Post-Office to receive and forward newspapers, is a question respecting which I confess I have doubts. If I am rightly informed, the post-riders were formerly permitted to carry newspapers on such terms as might be settled between them and the printers. The number of printers and newspapers are now so great that, if the latter were admitted into the mail, the expense to the public would be considerably enhanced; and it seems but reasonable that, as the printers as well as the public would derive much advantage from such a regulation, they should contribute somewhat to it.

The direction of the Post-Office, instead of being, as hitherto, consigned chiefly to a Committee, and

managed without much system, should, I think, be regulated by law, and put under the superintendence, and, in some degree, under the control, of the Executive. The public are not well satisfied on this head, as matters now stand; and there is but little reason to expect any important change during the existence of the present Government. The succeeding one will have an opportunity of doing a very acceptable service to their constituents, by regulating the Post-Office in a proper manner; and the more of such things they may have to do, the better. As to what ought to have been the conduct of Government on the occasion, there can be no doubt. But, my dear Sir, we cannot expect it from such a body as Congress; nay, unless personal qualities should supply the deficiency, I am not sure that the new Government will be found to rest on principles sufficiently stable to produce a uniform adherence to what justice, dignity, and liberal policy, may require; for, however proper such conduct may be, none but great minds will always deem it expedient. Men in general are guided more by conveniences than by principles. This idea accompanies all my reflections on the Constitution, and induced me to remark, to our late Convention at Poughkeepsie, that some of the most unpopular and strong parts of it appeared to me to be the most unexceptionable. Government without liberty is a curse; but, on the other hand, liberty without Government is far from being a blessing.

The opponents, in this State, to the Constitution, decrease and grow temperate. Many of them seem to look forward to another Convention rather as a measure that will justify their opposition than produce all the effects they pretended to expect from it. I wish that measure may be adopted with a good

grace, and without delay or hesitation. So many good reasons can be assigned for postponing the session of such a Convention for three or four years, that I really believe the great majority of its advocates would be satisfied with that delay; after which, I think we should not have much danger to apprehend from it, especially if the new Government should, in the mean time, recommend itself to the people by the wisdom of its proceedings, which, I flatter myself, will be the case. The division of the powers of Government into three departments, is a great and valuable point gained, and will give the people the best opportunity of bringing the question, whether they can govern themselves, to a decision in their favor. With the greatest esteem and regard, I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

New York, 21 October, 1788.

DEAR SIR,

I send you the inclosed paper chiefly for the sake of the edict which fixes on May, for the meeting of the States-General in France. Letters from Mr. Jefferson authenticate this document. They mention also the disgrace, as it is called, of the Marquis. The struggle at present in that kingdom, seems to be entirely between the monarchy and aristocracy, and the hopes of the people merely in the competition of their enemies for their favor. It is probable, however, that both the parties contain real friends to liberty, who will make events subservient to their object.

The Count de Moustier, and the Marchioness de

Brehan, are to set out this day for Mount Vernon. I take it for granted you are not only apprised of the intended visit, but of the time at which the guests may be expected. The State of Connecticut has made choice of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Ellsworth for its Senators, and have referred that of its Representatives to the people at large; every individual citizen to vote for every Representative.

I have not heretofore acknowledged your last favor, nothing material having turned up for some time, and the purpose of Colonel Covington to see you, on his way to Virginia, superseding all the ordinary communications through the epistolary channel. It gives me much pleasure to find, that both the opposition, at first, and finally, the accession, to the vote fixing New York for the first meeting of the new Congress, have your approbation. My fears, that the measure would be made a handle of by the opposition, are confirmed, in some degree, by my late information from Virginia. Mr. Pendleton, the Chancellor, tells me he has already met taunts from that quarter on this specimen of eastern equity and impartiality. Whether much noise will be made, will depend on the policy Mr. Henry may find it convenient to adopt. As New York is at the head of his party, he may be induced, by that circumstance, not to make irritating reflections; though the fact is, the party in this State, which is with him, are supposed to be indifferent and even secretly averse to the residence of Congress here. This, however, may not be known to him. I am, dear Sir,

Yours most respectfully and affectionately,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Lebanon, 28 October, 1788.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Nothing worthy of your notice having fallen in my way to communicate, since the receipt of your very esteemed favor of the 20th of July, I have forbore to trouble you with my acknowledgments therefor until this time; and I can now inform that the General Assembly of this State has lately been in session for a few days. After passing some resolves for organizing the Congress under the new Constitution, and doing but little other business, they were adjourned to January, the time for appointing Electors. This appointment the Assembly have retained in their own power, thinking it more likely to be exercised with judgment and discretion by the Legislature than it would probably be, was it to be intrusted to the people at large. Our Senators are the Honorable William Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth, Esquires, two very worthy and respectable members. The Representatives are to be chosen by the people before January next, in a mode very similar to that by which our Assistants and Delegates to Congress have been wont to be elected.

The circular letter for the Convention of the State of New York, being among the letters which the Governor laid before the Assembly, had, of course, a reading among the other public communications. This was all that passed respecting it; for although we had, in our Assembly, the champion of our *anties*, with some of his principal aids, yet no one had hardiness enough to call up the consideration of that letter, or to mention one word of its subject. Thus passed, in silent review, that formidable communication.

Excepting a few, very few discordant souls, whose inharmonious principles will never suffer them to act in general concert, we continue very unanimous in sentiment and salutary measures in this State, and are progressing with much cheerfulness and great good humor to the commencement of the new Constitution. In the choice of a President we have, I believe, no discordant voice; all minds are agreed, and every heart exults in the pleasing prospect of having their wishes so nobly gratified in this first great appointment.

I wish the States were like to be as happily unanimous in their Vice-President. For myself, since our minds seem so much to be turned towards Massachusetts for filling that office, and since Mr. Adams is so much talked of as one, if not the first, of the Supreme Federal Court, I could wish to hear the name of Mr. Bowdoin more generally mentioned than it is for the Vice-Presidency. From a long knowledge of this gentleman, in private as well as public life, I am led to entertain a high veneration for his character. I view him as a gentleman of liberal sentiments, extensive knowledge, and enlarged mind—a gentleman to whose wise, firm, and determined exertions, during the late troubles in Massachusetts, much more than to the studied popularity of their present Governor, is owing the happy tranquillity which that State now enjoys. It would afford me much satisfaction to reflect on the aid and support, which you, my dear Sir, would receive from the wisdom, prudence and discretion of such a character, in the arduous situation to which you will, *you must be*, advanced.

If my friend Humphreys continues to reside with you, Sir (I mention this circumstance with doubt, because, from his long silence and reserve, many of

his friends consider him to be dead or absconded), if he should prove to be still with you, may I pray your Excellency to be so good as to mention to him the kind remembrance of his old friend T., and whisper in his ear that, if he should find himself not too fat or too indolent, his friend will be much pleased in hearing from him, or, at least, in hearing of him.

My dear General, your very affectionate, obliged, and faithful friend and humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

FROM CHARLES LEE.

Richmond, 29 October, 1788.

SIR,

For a few days past, the Assembly has been engaged upon the subject of the Federal Constitution. The House of Delegates, in Committee, has come to several resolutions with respect to putting it into operation. One of them distributes the Commonwealth into ten districts, each of which is to choose a Representative in Congress; and another appoints that there shall be twelve districts, each of which is to choose an Elector of the President; and every free man is at this election to have a vote. These matters were introduced by Mr. Corbin, who seems to me not to have the confidence even of those who are friends to the fair trial of the new Government; and as they have made but small progress, I cannot tell what will become of them. For Mr. Henry to-day took occasion to declare, that he should oppose every measure tending to the organization of the Govern-

ment, unless accompanied with measures for the amendment of the Constitution; for which purpose he proposes that another General Convention of Deputies from the different States shall be held, as soon as practicable.

He offered to the Committee of the Whole House several resolutions to be agreed to upon this point; one of them, that the Legislature of Virginia should apply to the new Congress, expressive of the desire of this State, that another General Convention be immediately held to amend the Constitution. The language of this resolution contains a direct and indecent censure on all those who have befriended the new Constitution, holding them forth as the betrayers of the dearest rights of the people. Applying to the Constitution, these words are used,—“Whereby the most precious rights of the people, if not cancelled, are rendered insecure.” With some difficulty, and after much entreaty, Mr. Henry *conceded* (I use his expression) to suffer the resolution to lie on the table for consideration till to-morrow. Mr. Corbin, who spoke several times, but never against the resolution, concluded with saying that the resolution, as proposed, was unobjectionable; and Zachariah Johnson was the only member who declared his disapprobation in positive terms. If Mr. Henry pleases, he will carry the resolution in its present terms, than which none, in my opinion, can be more exceptionable or inflammatory; though, as he is sometimes kind and condescending, he may perhaps be induced to alter it. The other resolution proposed that a Committee should be appointed to answer the circular letter of New York, and, in conformity with the object of that letter, to address the Assemblies of the other States.

I am told Mr. Henry has publicly said, that no person, who wishes the Constitution to be amended, should vote for Mr. Madison to be in the Senate; and there is much reason to fear he will not be elected. Colonel R. H. Lee is considered as certain; and Colonel Grayson is expected to be the choice for the Senate.

Mr. Mayo has completed his bridge, and the greater part is strong and substantial; and this is now the common passage for wagons, chariots, &c., across the river.

You will please to pardon the abrupt manner of my communication, as I have been much fatigued with the business of the Court, and have been much chagrined with the conduct of the federalists in the Assembly, who seem, in general, to stand in fear of their opponents. I remain, with every consideration of respect and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

CHARLES LEE.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

New York, 21 December, 1788.

It is a long time, my dear Sir, since I have had the pleasure of addressing you, owing to my having been into Massachusetts and the Province of Maine, during the period of the last four months. I have received your favor, inclosing some foreign applications for admission into the Cincinnati. These papers are placed on the files of the Society, but cannot be acted on until the next general meeting, to be held in 1792.

In the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the great object of organizing the new Constitution, engrosses the attention of the people. It is with sincere satisfaction that I can assert, from personal observation, that the affection for the new system is increasing in these States, and that it is daily becoming highly popular. The Senators of those States are characters calculated to inspire confidence in the new Government, and are all highly federal. I am persuaded the Representatives will generally, if not entirely, be of the same description. As to Rhode Island, the majority are in such a train that nothing good can at present be expected from them; their paper money system and tender laws are sufficiently characteristic of their pursuits. New York are also laboring under errors of conduct; but, from the powerful party in favor of the new system, something may be hoped from their ensuing elections. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland are right. The late choice of Representatives in Pennsylvania, may be considered as a new and fair appeal to the people, as it respects their approbation of the new Government. Although the party in favor of their local Constitution have been brought to operate against the General Constitution, yet it appears the majority of the people are its firm supporters.

Mr. John Adams will probably have the plurality of votes for Vice-President. From his principles of government, as well as his professions of regard to the character universally decided on for the President, he will probably make a good Vice-President.

Major Haskell, who is going to Europe, is very solicitous to obtain your Excellency's certificate of his services. He sustained the character of a brave and good officer, and at present he supports the reputa-

tion of a good citizen. It is with diffidence I ask this certificate; but the request is made under such auspices, I cannot avoid it.

Our three youngest children have lately had the measles, and are, we hope, safely through the disorder. Our eldest children, Lucy and Harry, are about sickening with it. Mrs. Knox presents her respects to you, and unites with me in presenting our respects to Mrs. Washington. I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and humble servant,
HENRY KNOX.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Orange, 12 January, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 2d instant, with the letters attending it, never came to hand till last evening. I have good reason to believe, that the delay happened between Alexandria and Fredericksburg, rather than at or from the latter place. Mr. Maury pays particular attention to all letters which arrive there for me, and forwards them to Orange by opportunities, which are frequent and safe. I apprehend there will be no impropriety in committing a confidential letter to that channel. As an additional precaution, I will desire him to be particularly attentive to every letter which may have your name on it.

I have heard from two only of the returns from the electoral districts, the one in favor of Mr. Gilchrist, the other of General Stephen. He succeeded against Colonel Cabel by a majority of eighty-two votes. He owes his success to the coalition between the two parties in Spotsylvania. My situation is unfavorable for intelligence from the State at large, and

therefore I can say little of the prospects as to the February election. I fear, from the vague accounts which circulate, that the federal candidates are too likely to stand in the way of one another. This is not the case, however, in my district. The field is left entirely to Monroe and myself. The event of our competition will probably depend on the part to be taken by two or three descriptions of people, whose decision is not known, if not yet to be ultimately formed. I have pursued my pretensions much farther than I premeditated; having not only made great use of epistolary means, but actually visited two counties, Culpepper and Louisa, and publicly contradicted the erroneous reports propagated against me. It has been very industriously inculcated, that I am dogmatically attached to the Constitution in every clause, syllable, and letter; and therefore not a single amendment will be promoted by my vote, either from conviction or a spirit of accommodation. This is the report most likely to affect the election, and most difficult to be combated with success, within the limited period. There is a number of others, however, which are auxiliaries to it. With my respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington, and the others of your family, I remain, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and affectionate servant,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM THOMAS MARSHALL.

Fayette County, 12 February, 1789.*

DEAR GENERAL,

The nature of the subject upon which I do myself

* Fayette county was a part of the present State of Kentucky.

the honor to address you, will, I hope, be admitted as an excuse for the trouble of reading this letter. The political situation of this western country appears to me to be something critical, and therefore I have undertaken, though reluctantly, to give you a state of facts preceding our present situation, so far as they have fallen within my knowledge.

In the spring of 1787, General Wilkinson went to New Orleans with a cargo of tobacco, &c., and was requested by the Governor of that place to give his sentiments freely, in writing, respecting the political interest of Spain, and the Americans of the United States inhabiting the western waters. This he did in an essay, as he calls it, contained in about fifteen or twenty sheets of paper. I saw the Governor's letter to him, acknowledging the receipt of it, and informing him that he would lay it before the King of Spain. A copy of this essay he produced, and read in our late Convention held for the district; and, as well as my memory (which I acknowledge is not very accurate) serves me, the substance of it is as follows.

He urges our natural right of following the current of rivers, flowing through our country into the sea. He states the extent of our country, the richness of our soil, abounding in choice productions proper for foreign markets, to which we have no means of conveying them, should the Mississippi be shut up against us. He states the advantages Spain might derive from allowing us the free use of that river. He goes on to show the rapid population of this country, and the eagerness with which every individual looks forward to that navigation. He states the general abhorrence with which the people of the western waters received the intelligence, that Con-

gress was about to sacrifice their dearest interest by ceding to Spain the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty-five or thirty years, and represents it as a fact, that they are on the point of separating themselves totally from the Union on that account. He addresses himself to their fears by a pompous display of our force, and urges that, should Spain be so blind to her true interest as to refuse us an amicable participation in the navigation of that river, and thereby force us into violent measures, "Great Britain stands with her arms extended ready to receive us," and assist our efforts for the accomplishment of that object; and quotes a conversation he had a few years ago with a member of the British Parliament to that effect.

He states the facility with which their Province of Louisiana might be invaded by the united forces of the British and Americans, by means of the river Illinois, and the practicability of proceeding from thence to their Province of New Mexico, it not being more than twenty days. Britain, he says, will, in that case, aim at the possession of Louisiana and New Orleans for herself, and leave the freedom of the navigation to America; and urges, pretty forcibly, the great danger the Spanish interest in North America would be in from the British power, should that nation possess herself of the mouth of the Mississippi, and thereby hold the two grand portals of North America, that river and the St. Lawrence; and concludes with an apology for the freedom with which he has treated the subject, and adds that it has, at their own particular request, been drawn from a man "whose head may err, but whose heart cannot deceive."

This essay has, I am told, been laid before the

Court of Madrid; and, as a violent separation from the United States seems to be laid down as the groundwork upon which every other consequence depends, I think, probably, has produced instructions from that Court to the Spanish resident at Congress, if the western country should declare itself separate from the Union, to avail himself of that event. I found this conjecture upon Mr. Brown's confidential letters from Congress to his friends in this district. Some of those letters I have seen.* He mentions that, in a private conversation which he had with Don Gardoqui, he was informed that so long as this country remained a part of the Union, we had nothing to expect from Spain; but, were we to declare ourselves separate from, and independent of the United States, he was authorized to treat with us respecting commerce and the navigation of the Mississippi. Mr. Brown having returned from Congress, was called upon, in conversation, in November last, to give such information respecting our affairs in Congress as might be proper for us to know. He told me that he did not think himself at liberty to mention what past in private conversation between himself and Don Gardoqui respecting us. But this much, in general, he would venture to inform us, that, provided we were united in our counsels, every thing we could wish for was within our reach,—meaning, as it appeared fully to me, that if we would assume government, and declare separate from the Union, Spain would give us every indulgence we could ask for.

About this time arrived from Canada the famous Dr. (now Colonel) Connolly.† His ostensible busi-

* Mr. John Brown, Delegate in Congress from Virginia, and afterwards Senator from Kentucky.

† See Washington's Writings, Vol. III. p. 212.

ness was to inquire after, and repossess himself of, some lands he formerly held at the Falls of the Ohio; but I believe that his real business was to sound the disposition of the leading men of this district respecting this Spanish business. He knew that both Colonel Shuter and myself had given it all the opposition in the Convention we were able to do; and, before he left the district, paid us a visit, though neither of us had the honor of the least acquaintance with him. He was introduced by Colonel John Campbell, formerly a prisoner taken by the Indians, and confined in Canada, who previously informed us of the proposition he was about to make. He (Connolly) presently entered upon his subject; urged the great importance the navigation of the Mississippi must be of to the inhabitants of the western waters; showed the absolute necessity of our possessing it; and concluded with assurances that, were we disposed to assert our right respecting that navigation, Lord Dorchester* was cordially disposed to give us powerful assistance; that his Lordship had, I think he said, four thousand British troops in Canada, besides two regiments at Detroit, and could furnish us with arms, ammunition, clothing, and money; that, with this assistance, we might possess ourselves of New Orleans, fortify the Balize at the mouth of the river, and keep possession, in spite of the utmost efforts of Spain, to the contrary. He made very confident professions of Lord Dorchester's wishes to cultivate the most friendly intercourse with the people of this country, and of his own desire to become serviceable to us; and with so much seeming sincerity, that, had I not before been acquainted with his character as a

* Governor of Canada.

man of intrigue and artful address, I should, in all probability, have given him my confidence.

I told him that the minds of the people of this country were thoroughly prejudiced against the British, not only from circumstances attending the late war, but from a persuasion that the Indians were at this time stimulated by them against us; and that, so long as those savages continued to commit such horrid cruelties on our defenceless frontiers, and were received as friends and allies by the British at Detroit, it would be impossible for them to be convinced of the sincerity of Lord Dorchester's offers, let his professions be ever so strong; and that, if his Lordship would have us believe him really disposed to be our friend, he must begin by showing his disapprobation of the ravages of the Indians. He admitted the justice of my observations, and said he had urged the same to his Lordship before he left Canada. He denied that the Indians are stimulated against us by the British, and says that Lord Dorchester observed that the Indians are free and independent nations, and have a right to make peace and war as they think fit, and that he could not with propriety interfere. He promised, however, on his return to Canada, to repeat his arguments to his Lordship on the subject, and hopes, he says, to succeed. At taking his leave, he begged very politely the favor of our correspondence. We both promised him, provided he would begin it, and devise a means of carrying it on. He did not tell me that he was authorized by Lord Dorchester to make us these offers in his name, nor did I ask him; but General Scott informs me that he told him that his Lordship had authorized him to use his name in this business.

It appears plain to me that the offers of Lord Dor-

chester, as well as those of Spain, are founded on a supposition that it is a fact that we are about to separate from the Union; else, why are those offers not made to Congress? We shall, I fear, never be safe from the machinations of our enemies, as well internal as external, until we have a separate State, and are admitted into the Union as a federal member. I have the honor to be, with the most respectful esteem and regard,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,
THOMAS MARSHALL.*

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Philadelphia, 8 March, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

We arrived here yesterday evening, where we have met with Mr. Dawson, just from New York. When he left it, eighteen Representatives and eight Senators had assembled. It is not certain, when the deficiencies will be made up. The most favorable conjectures postpone it to Monday sennight. The members attending are chiefly from the eastward. I do not learn that a single member, except Mr. White, is from a State south of Pennsylvania, unless, indeed, Dr. Tucker is to be included in the exception. The New Jersey Representatives are not yet announced. Mr. Clark, it is supposed, will be one, Mr. Cadwalader, Mr. Boudinot, and Mr. Schureman, are talked of as the others.

I find that the communication, made to you from

* See the subject of this letter fully discussed in Butler's History of Kentucky, Chapter XI.

Kentucky, corresponds with an official letter to Congress from Governor St. Clair, which speaks of the same emissary, and the same errand. Notice has been transmitted of the affair to the Executive of Congress, in order that regular steps may be taken, if sufficient ground be afforded, for apprehending the incendiary. The project of G. M——n for establishing a colony beyond the Mississippi is also going on. It is the opinion of Mr. Brown, as explained to Mr. Griffin, that emigrations to the Spanish territory will be enticed from Kentucky, as rapidly as the allurements of the latter place have obtained them from the Atlantic States. All these circumstances point out the conduct, which the new Government ought to pursue, with regard to the western country and Spain.

I dropped you a line from Baltimore, mentioning the unanimity of the electoral votes of South Carolina and Georgia, for a President, and the manner in which the secondary votes were disposed of.

I am, dear Sir, your truly affectionate,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

New York, 19 March, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

On our arrival here, we found that the number of Representatives on the spot had been stationary from the second day of the meeting. Mr. Page, Mr. Lee, and myself raised it to twenty-one; and Mr. S. Griffin and Mr. Moore have been since added. The number of attending Senators continues at eight. When a quorum will be made up in either House, rests

on vague conjecture, rather than on any precise information. It is not improbable, I think, that the present week will supply the deficiency in one, if not both of them. The States most convenient are among the defaulters. It will not be known, I am told, in this State, who the Representatives are, till some time next month. The federal party calculate on an equal division of the six; Mr. Laurence for the city district; Mr. Floyd for the Long Island district; and Mr. Benson for a third.

In New Jersey the election has been conducted in a very singular manner. The law having fixed no time expressly for closing the polls, they have been kept open three or four weeks in some of the counties, by a rival jealousy between the eastern and western divisions of the State; and it seems uncertain when they would have been closed, if the Governor had not interposed by fixing on a day for receiving the returns, and proclaiming the successful candidates. The day is past, but I have not heard the result. The western ticket, in favor of Schureman, Boudinot, Cadwalader, Sennickson (if this is the name), is supposed to have prevailed; but an impeachment of the election, by the unsuccessful competitors, has been talked of. Two of the Representatives from Massachusetts are also unknown to us. In one of the districts, it is supposed that a disaffected man has prevailed.

A British packet has long been expected, and is not yet arrived. The state of foreign news remains of consequence little altered. The accounts of latest date, through other channels, show, that the progress in France towards a Constitutional establishment, is unchecked, and that a coalition between the King and the Commons, against the nobility and clergy,

will direct the innovations. With respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington and the rest of the family, I am, dear Sir,

Truly and affectionately, your obedient servant,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM RICHARD HENRY LEE.

New York, 6 April, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

On the Sunday sennight after leaving Mount Vernon, I arrived here, where, to my surprise, I found that a quorum of the Senate was not assembled, and but a small majority of Representatives.

On this day we went to business; and, to my very great satisfaction, I heard a unanimous vote of the electing States in favor of calling you to the honorable office of President of the United States. Before this period, I judged it might not be acceptable to speak my sentiments to you on this subject. But now, I hope I may be permitted to express my ardent hope, that your inclinations may correspond with the united wish of America, that you should preside over those councils which you have so greatly contributed to render independent. Indeed, I am sure that the public happiness, which I know you have so much at heart, will be very insecure without your acceptance.

The two Houses feel the necessity of proceeding to the preparation of some important business, that it may be in all possible forwardness against your arrival; that of securing the impost on the spring arrivals, seems to be the most pressing. An express goes also to Mr. Adams immediately, to inform him

of his election to the office of Vice-President. I pray to be remembered affectionately to your lady and the family at Mount Vernon. With every sentiment of respect, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.*

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Paris, 29 April, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I had the pleasure to write to you a short letter on the 3d of last month. Monsieur de Lafayette is since returned from his political campaign in Auvergne, crowned with success. He had to contend with prejudices, and the interests of his order, and with the influence of the Queen and Princes (except the Duke of Orleans); but he was too able for his opponents. He played the orator with as much *éclat* as ever he acted the soldier, and is at this moment as much envied and hated as his heart could wish. He is also much beloved by the nation; for he stands forward as one of the principal champions for her rights.

The elections are finished throughout this kingdom, except in the capital; and it appears, from the instructions given to the Representatives (called here *les Cahiers*) that certain points are universally demanded, which, when granted and secured, will render France perfectly free, as to the principles of the Constitution. I say the *principles*, for one generation at least, will

* Washington was inaugurated President of the United States on the 30th of April, in New York.

be required to render the practice familiar. We have, I think, every reason to wish that the patriots may be successful. The generous wish that a free people must have to disseminate freedom, the grateful emotion which rejoices in the happiness of a benefactor, and a strong personal interest as well in the liberty as in the power of this country, all conspire to make us far from indifferent spectators.

I say that we have an *interest* in the liberty of France. The leaders here are our friends. Many of them have imbibed their principles in America, and all have been fired by our example. Their opponents are by no means rejoiced at the success of our revolution, and many of them are disposed to form connections of the strictest kind with Great Britain. The commercial treaty emanated from such dispositions; and, according to the usual course of those events which are shaped by human wisdom, it will probably produce the exact reverse of what was intended by the projectors. The spirit of this nation is at present high, and M. Necker is very popular; but if he continues long in the administration, it will be somewhat wonderful. His enemies are numerous, able, and inveterate. His supporters are indifferent as to his fate, and will protect him no longer than while he can aid in establishing a Constitution. But, when once that great business is accomplished, he will be left to stand on his own ground. The Court wish to get rid of him, and unless he shows himself very strong in the States-General, they will gratify their wishes. His ability as a Minister will be much contested in that Assembly; but with what success, time only can determine.

The materials for a revolution in this country are very indifferent. Everybody agrees that there is an

utter prostration of morals; but this general position can never convey to an American mind the degree of depravity. It is not by any figure of rhetoric, or force of language, that the idea can be communicated. A hundred anecdotes, and a hundred thousand examples, are required to show the extreme rottenness of every member. There are men and women who are greatly and eminently virtuous. I have the pleasure to number many in my own acquaintance. But they stand forward from a background deeply and darkly shaded. It is, however, from such crumbling matter that the great edifice of freedom is to be erected here. Perhaps, like the stratum of rock, which is spread under the whole surface of their country, it may harden when exposed to the air; but it seems quite as likely that it will fall and crush the builders.

I own to you that I am not without such apprehensions, for there is one fatal principle which pervades all ranks. It is, a perfect indifference to the violation of engagements. Inconstancy is so mingled in the blood, marrow, and very essence of this people, that when a man of high rank and importance laughs to-day at what he seriously asserted yesterday, it is considered as in the natural order of things. Consistency is a phenomenon. Judge, then, what would be the value of an association, should such a thing be proposed, and even adopted. The great mass of the common people have no religion but their priests, no law but their superiors, no morals but their interest. These are the creatures who, led by drunken curates, are now in the high road *à la liberté*, and the first use they make of it is to form insurrections everywhere for the want of bread. We have had a little riot here yesterday and the day before, and I am told that some men have been killed; but

the affair was so distant from the quarter in which I reside, that I know nothing of the particulars.

I am almost at the bottom of my paper, without mentioning what I at first intended. Six days ago I got from the maker your watch, with two copper keys, and one golden one, and a box containing a spare spring and glasses, all which I have delivered to Mr. Jefferson, who takes charge of them for you. I am, &c.,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Albany, 2 May, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

By yesterday's post we were advised of your Excellency's arrival at New York; and if a variety of incidents did not concur to prevent me, I should have the honor, in person, to congratulate you on the gratitude and confidence which you so eminently experience from United America.

Until the adoption of the present system of National Government, it was a constant and a painful reflection to every patriot, that the inefficacy of the late Confederation threatened to deprive America of those blessings, for which she was greatly indebted to your persevering exertions, in surmounting the obstacles which were opposed to her becoming independent. And permit me to assure you that the distress of my feelings was infinitely increased, from a contemplation of what I could realize must be yours on the sad occasion.

But anxiety is now at an end. The impending clouds are dispelled, and a happy prospect is presented to the view. For why should we doubt that the Divine hand, which has so evidently interfered in favor of America, and so remarkably assisted and con-

ducted you in every stage of life, will continue to guide and direct you in your endeavours for the happiness of your country? Let me join my wish to the universal one, that health, happiness, and every blessing, may be your portion. I am, dear Sir, with affectionate and sincere esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

FROM BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

Boston, 23 May, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I was early convinced, upon your Excellency's retirement from public life, that too much of your time, for your own happiness, was engrossed by a correspondence as extensive as is the knowledge of letters, and by the frequent visits of people throughout the equally extended limits. An idea that these visits were multiplied by the ease with which people obtained letters of introduction to your Excellency, has restrained me from giving such letters but in a few instances, lest I should be instrumental in adding to your cares, and breaking in upon your domestic tranquillity. At this day, Sir, I ought to be more upon my guard than ever, as your burdens are multiplied, and as your whole time must be engrossed by the important calls of your elevated office. While under this conviction, I hope and trust that I shall not exceed the bounds of propriety. I consider, however, that there are instances, which to neglect would be highly criminal, and might justly be considered as a neglect of duty to your Excellency and to the public. Such I consider the instance now before me.

This letter will be honored by its being borne by the Honorable George Cabot. Feeling, as all others

do, an esteem for and obligations to your Excellency, he intends to wait upon you and express them. I hope his business will permit him to remain a little time with you, for I am sure your Excellency will find him a gentleman, in all respects perfectly agreeable. From his abilities, his integrity, his knowledge of the world, of commerce in general, and its connections with the different nations, our interest with them and with each other, I cannot help considering him an honor to our country, and one of the most able and useful men in it. He has been drawn into public life; but we have not had influence enough to retain him. If your Excellency should have time to open with him on the state of trade here, on its foreign and domestic connections, you will receive a very judicious relation; and such a one as will be pleasing, and throw light on the interesting and important subject, and as free from personal views and those local prejudices which have so often clogged our public proceedings and given a false coloring to them, as from any man I know on earth.

Fearing that he would call, as thousands of others must do, without being particularly known, I have taken the liberty to beg it as a favor that he would take charge of this letter, and deliver it with his own hand. I have been urged to this from the fullest conviction that the happiness arising from an interview would be reciprocal. Captain Brown, formerly of Glover's regiment, and who was with your Excellency at Trenton, now a very respectable merchant in this State, will accompany Mr. Cabot. I have the honor of being, with the most perfect esteem, my dear General,

Your Excellency's most obedient, &c.,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

FROM THOMAS MARSHALL.

Woodford County, 26 June, 1789.

DEAR GENERAL,

Your Excellency's letter, dated the 27th of March last, came safe to hand, and I have the honor to assure you that I will observe the contents of it with all the care and attention in my power. The part I took in the business I had the honor to inform you of, has deprived me of the confidence of all those gentlemen concerned. It is however scarcely possible, that a matter of that extensive importance can be conducted to any dangerous crisis, without my discovering something of it, time enough to give you the necessary information. In the mean time, my vigilance shall not sleep.

Should your Excellency find it necessary to honor me with your commands, they will find a safe conveyance by being sent under cover to my son, John Marshall, in Richmond, to whom I shall write for that purpose.

Permit me, Sir, to express my extreme happiness on account of your Excellency's acceptance of the Presidency of the United States; an event the more to be rejoiced at, as it bids fair, at this critical time, for the reconciliation of all parties. It strongly impresses on my mind the truth of what was prophetically said from the pulpit, on the commencement of the former French war, "that Providence had sent you into the world to be the salvation of America." May God bless and prosper you! is the prayer of him, who has the honor to be, with the most respectful regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,
THOMAS MARSHALL.

FROM HENRY LEE.

Stratford, 1 July, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Although the exalted station, which your love of us and our love of you has placed you in, calls for change in mode of address, yet I cannot so quickly relinquish the old manner. Your military rank holds its place in my mind, notwithstanding your civic glory; and, whenever I do abandon the title which used to distinguish you, I shall do it with awkwardness.

The affectionate and decided regard, demonstrated to your person and character, on your tour to New York, has diffused pure and sincere joy among every class of people in the circle of my intelligence. Nor has any individual more heartily enjoyed the testimonials exhibited by my fellow-citizens than myself; because it manifests honor, truth, and gratitude in the body politic, and because such spontaneous and disinterested effusions of respect and attachment must convey a reward the most grateful of all others to your feelings. Having gone through your inauguration, and consequently in some degree shielded by the duties of office from the display of affection and respect, which your arrival in New York must have produced, I venture to yield to the entreaties of my heart, often before resisted, to offer my congratulations on your auspicious acceptance of the administration of the National Government. My reluctance to trespass a moment on your time would have operated to a further procrastination of my wishes, had not I been roused above every feeling of ceremony by the heart-rending intelligence, received yesterday, that your life was despaired of. Had I had wings in the moment, I should have wafted myself to your bedside, only again to see the first of men; but alas! despairing as I was,

from the account received, after the affliction of one day and night, was I made most happy by receiving a letter, now before me from New York, announcing the restoration of your health. May Heaven preserve it!

Next to the felicity of the nation, I confess I have no object more interesting to me than your health and happiness. I pray, as I ever have done, that your return to public life may be commensurate to your intentions and to our expectations. Greater good to the people of the United States cannot be asked for. To give complete success to your administration appears to me impracticable, unless national harmony is soon restored. The political schism, which divides our countrymen, is, I fear, deep planted in the minds of many leading characters; and, however respect to a majority and affection to the President may quiet them now, yet, on the first inviting occasion, the spirit of opposition will show itself strongly. To deprive it of the means of operating with effect should be, I conceive, the leading object of the friends to government. It is practicable to prevent your enemy from injuring you, although it may be impossible to render him your friend. Therefore, instead of striving to court the good will of opposition, by improper concessions, I would disarm them, by complying with the rational views of the advocates for amendments spontaneously. The House of Representatives, to whom these remarks apply, if they follow the plan which seems to be contemplated by some of their members, will, I think, accomplish this great good. If it is not done under your auspices, it will never be effected; and, if never effected, we shall be a divided, distressed people.

Among the difficulties which encompass you, I presume those which flow from the nomination to office.

will be the most irksome. The public good being your guide, all that you can want will be just information. Herein consists the danger of committing error, because you must unavoidably depend on the knowledge of others too often. When the commercial arrangements shall be settled, and it may become necessary to make the appointments, I beg leave to mention to you a young man of excellent private character, and brought up in the naval office, Mr. Richard Marshall Scott, of Alexandria, who wishes to continue in public employ. He is descended from poor though honest parents, and has no chance for success in his application but from his own merit. His character will bear the strictest scrutiny, and his conduct for seven years in the office of South Potomac, as Deputy Naval Officer at the port of Alexandria, meets with unanimous applause from the merchants as well as from his superiors.

Having touched on this delicate subject, I cannot help naming to you another gentleman, to whose character, in war and in peace, you are no stranger, and whose situation and manner of life seem to fit him for public employment. I mean Colonel Carrington. He dislikes to solicit for office, but I am persuaded would be happy in being honored with an appointment, whenever you should consider it proper to call him into service. I am sure you will consider these communications merely as information, and therefore they cannot be unacceptable to you. Will you be pleased to present Mrs. Lee and me in the most respectful manner to your lady, and to accept, Sir, a repetition of the unceasing respect and regard of your faithful and affectionate

Friend and humble servant,

HENRY LEE.

FROM DAVID STUART.

Abingdon, 14 July, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Being just returned from a journey to the lower parts of the State, I am much distressed to find your indisposition has been much more severe than appeared from the public papers. I hope I may now congratulate you on your perfect recovery. Though you were pleased, at your departure, to desire to hear from me occasionally, yet, knowing how much you are oppressed in this way, it was not my intention to increase your list of correspondents, unless business required it, or I had some information of the public opinion respecting the operations of the Government to communicate, which, if not useful or important, might be satisfactory. Both these motives concur in dictating the present address.

Nothing could equal the ferment and disquietude occasioned by the proposition respecting titles. As it is believed to have originated from Mr. Adams and Mr. Lee, they are not only unpopular to an extreme, but highly odious. Neither, I am convinced, will ever get a vote from this State again. As I consider it very unfortunate for the Government, that a person in the second office should be so unpopular, I have been much concerned at the clamor and abuse against him. Perhaps I feel it more sensibly, from being reminded of my insignificant exertions for him as an elector. The opponents to the Government affect to smile at it, and consider it as a verification of their prophecies about the tendency of the Government. Mr. Henry's description of it, that "it squinted towards monarchy," is in every mouth, and has established him in the general opinion as a true prophet.

It has given me much pleasure to hear every part of your conduct spoke of with high approbation, and

particularly your dispensing with ceremony occasionally, and walking the streets; while Adams is never seen but in his carriage and six.* As trivial as this may appear, it appears to be more captivating to the generality, than matters of more importance. Indeed, I believe the great herd of mankind form their judgments of characters, more from such slight occurrences, than those of greater magnitude; and perhaps they are right, as the heart is more immediately consulted with respect to the former, than the latter, and an error of judgment is more easily pardoned, than one of the heart. I find the Senate in general to be unpopular, and much censured for keeping their doors shut. Nor do they appear more fortunate for their disagreement with the lower House, on the subject of a discrimination. I can only say, that I think, from what I have been able to learn, it would be a measure highly grateful to every part of this State but the British merchants. But it may, possibly, be founded more in prejudice and resentment, than sound policy; and if experience should prove it so, I know it would be readily forgot that it was a measure of their own; and censure in abundance would follow. But without it, it is asked, what inducement can the British Court have to enter into any treaty at all with America, when her commerce is as much favored without one, as that of any nation which has a treaty?

In passing through York to the Eastern Shore, I was much concerned to understand, that the family of so virtuous and patriotic a man as General N. was left in so destitute a condition. His numerous creditors had just presented their claims, which, it seems, amount to the enormous sum of thirty-five thousand pounds. At the low rates at which property sells, it is thought

* Such being the rumor in Virginia.

little will be left for his family, after the debts are paid. As I know you are better acquainted with the father's virtues, than myself, I hope you will think these a sufficient justification for my mentioning his son, Thomas, to you for some office. He has been well educated, and bred to the law, and been two or three years attending as a practitioner at the General Court. From the number of old competitors there, his profits from his profession are but small and insufficient. I expect that some place in your family would be agreeable. If you have no occasion for more, I should suppose that the office of clerk to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs would be one to which he is well fitted from his profession. It is a piece of justice due to the family, that I should observe, that I have mentioned the subject without any application or suggestion on their part, prompted alone by my feelings for the distress of the family, and my high respect for the virtues of the father. Mr. Page will be able to give you more information respecting the qualifications of the young man than I can, if you should think the reasons I have given deserve any attention. I must now confess my awkwardness on this subject, and appeal to the motives which influenced me for venturing to harass you on a subject, on which I know you were tired out, months before you left home.

Mr. Claiborne informed me, some time ago, by Mr. Bassett, and lately himself, that he conceived he had a right to the land in King William, purchased by Mr. Custis's father from his uncle, and containing about twenty-five hundred acres. He conceives the lands to have been entailed, and wishes to know if you have any information respecting its being docked. I can discover no instrument of that sort among the papers. In the deed of conveyance to Mr. Custis, I

observe that it was sold by a decree in Chancery of the Court of King William, to pay Mr. Claiborne's debts. This is a very encouraging circumstance to me, as I cannot suppose the Court would have taken such a step without the best opinions that it was not entailed. I likewise find, that Mr. Powers, an able lawyer of that time, as an executor, joins in the conveyance, as also Philip W. Claiborne, father of the present claimant. I can hardly think the former would have made himself liable, and the latter conveyed away his right, without the fullest conviction of there being some defect in the entail. I have informed Mr. Claiborne of these circumstances; but he does not appear to think them of any weight. He tells me the lawyers he has consulted think it a good entail. I have consulted no one yet but Colonel Innes, who is of the same opinion with Mr. Powers. Though it is not probable you have any information, which the papers do not furnish, yet I could wish to know it certainly. I am told, by Mr. Moor, that Claiborne's father used to talk much of his right, and of suing for it. You may have heard of this, and the reasons which prevented him.

I shall have little to do the remainder of the year but attend the different courts. The weighty suit in Chancery with Robert Alexander will be determined in August, and with Colonel Bassett in September, at Williamsburg. Mr. W. Dandridge informs me, it is necessary there should be a deed of conveyance from you to Mr. Custis's heir for the lands you purchased in King William. You will determine whether it be so or not, to prevent any claim from your heirs. Mr. I. Dandridge has informed me of an order for a considerable sum due from his father's estate to Mr. Custis's, which he has sent to you. When informed of its being complied with, I shall give him credit for it.

I must now desire my best compliments to Mrs. Washington. Mrs. Stuart and the girls are well, and desire their love to each of you, and beg to congratulate you on your recovery. I am, &c.,

DAVID STUART.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Dieppe, 31 July, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I had the honor to write to you on the twenty-ninth of April last. I shall not trouble you with a recital of events, which Mr. Jefferson has, I know, communicated to the office of Foreign Affairs. But being now here on my way to London, and finding a vessel bound directly to New York, I take the opportunity to send some tables, which contain the political, military, pecuniary, and commercial state of this country. I believe them to be tolerably authentic as far as they go.

I will also communicate a matter, which Mr. Jefferson was not yet informed of, and which I could not tell him, because I was forbidden to mention it to any person here. You know, I dare say, that the Count de Moustier has his *congé*. His successor will be Colonel Ternant,—at first, in the character of Chargé des Affaires, and when M. de Moustier is otherwise placed, it is highly probable that Ternant may be made Minister; but that will depend on the situation of the Court at the time, so that *there* I only state probability. As to the other, you may rely on it, because my intelligence I know to be good. The important trait in this appointment is, that he is named as a person who will be agreeable to us.

You may rely, also, on what I am about to mention, but which I pray you not to disclose. It is known to very few in this country, and may, per-

haps, as it ought, be buried in oblivion. The King has actually formed the design of going off to Spain. Whether the measure set on foot to dissuade him will have, as I hope, the desired effect, time only can discover. His fears govern him absolutely, and they have of late been most strongly excited. He is a well-meaning man, but extremely weak; and probably these circumstances will in every event secure him from personal injury. An able man would not have fallen into his situation; but I think that no ability can now extricate him. He must float along the current of events, being absolutely and entirely a cipher. If, however, he should fly, it would not be easy to predict the consequences; for this country is at present as near to anarchy as society can approach without dissolution. There are some able men in the National Assembly; yet the best heads among them would not be injured by experience, and unfortunately there are great numbers who, with much imagination, have little knowledge, judgment, or reflection. You may consider the revolution as complete; that is to say, the authority of the King and of the nobility is completely subdued. Yet I tremble for the Constitution. They have all that romantic spirit, and all those romantic ideas of government, which, happily for America, we were cured of before it was too late. They are advancing rapidly. But I must check myself, or my reflections will occupy too much space both for you and for me.

One of the last persons I saw in Paris was M. de Lafayette. He had promised to trust me with a letter for you; but he must be excused, for he is as busy as a man can be. Not long since, speaking to him on his own subject, I told him some hints I had given, tending to make him Governor of the Isle of France, which, you know, includes Paris. He declared

that the command of the military in that city only, was the utmost of his wishes; that he was satiated with power; he had his sovereign, during the late procession to Paris, completely within his authority; he had marched him where he pleased; measured out the degree of applause he should receive as he pleased; and, if he pleased, could have detained him prisoner. All this is strictly true. He commanded on that day at least eighty thousand men, who, during the King's progress through them to the Hotel de Ville, shouted *Vive la Nation*, and only on his return cried *Vive le Roi*.

I do not know whether you will be informed of the critical situation in which things were placed, just before the last Ministry were turned out and the old one restored. My authority is very good, but yet I will not vouch for the truth. It was resolved to reduce Paris by famine, to take two hundred of the States-General prisoners, to dissolve that Assembly, and to govern in the old-fashioned way. All this, you will say, was madness, and therefore improbable. But was it not equally mad to drive away Necker, and change the Ministry at the time and in the manner, which were chosen for that purpose? The men, weak enough for the one, were certainly mad enough for the other. Two German regiments, which were to be employed, were regaled by the Queen in the Orangerie at Versailles. They received promises and largesses, and were prevailed on to shout *Vive la Reine*, *Vive le Comte d'Artois*, *Vive la Duchesse de Polignac*. Afterwards, their music played for hours under her Majesty's window. The Mareschal de Broglio endeavoured, at the same time, to conciliate the artillery. But it was at length discovered, that, though the troops would shout and sing, yet they would not fight against their countrymen.

All which might have been known long ago. At the moment when their intrigue was carrying on by the Court, the *Gardes du Corps* and *Gardes Françaises* combined to defend the members of the National Assembly. I pass over those facts, which you cannot but know, to mention, in one word, that the whole army of France have declared for liberty; and that one reason why his Majesty has not taken the steps above mentioned, is, that he does not know a single regiment that would obey him.

Adieu, my dear Sir. I write this letter in much hurry, and after much fatigue. Excuse in it everything inaccurate or inelegant, and pardon it, on the score of that sincere and affectionate respect, with which I am, &c.,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM DAVID HUMPHREYS.*

Rock Landing, 21 September, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I did not trouble you with a letter from Savannah, because our public despatch to the Secretary at War, would inform you of our proceedings to that time. Besides, the oppressive nature of the intolerable heat, and the exertion we were obliged to make to get forward on our journey, occasioned such a relaxation and consequent sickness, as rendered me almost incapable of writing. We are all now well.

After a fatiguing journey through the deep sands

* General Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin, and David Humphreys, were appointed Commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the southern Indians. Executive Journal of the Senate, Vol. I. p. 19.

which prevail from Savannah to Augusta, we reached the latter on the evening of the 17th instant. We intended to remain there one day, to make arrangements with the Executive for the negotiation, and to take measures for forwarding our stores, which were expected at Augusta, by water, in a few days. But, upon receiving information from Messrs. Pickens and Osborne, that the Indians were growing very impatient to return to their homes, and that they could not possibly be detained but a few days longer, we recommenced our journey that evening. The next day, the iron axle-tree of our carriage broke, at a great distance from any house, which accident occasioned the loss of the whole day. Being determined to arrive at the Rock Landing the following evening, according to our last letter to Mr. McGillivray, General Lincoln and myself took two of the carriage-horses, with a guide, and proceeded twenty-five miles that night. Yesterday we reached this place at dark, after having travelled a long distance before we reached the Ogechee, and from the Ogechee to the Oconee (between thirty and forty miles), through a dreary wilderness, in which there was not a single house. Mr. Griffin, with Mr. Few and Colonel Franks, were to come on as soon as the carriage could be mended, for which arrangements were made before we left them.

We announced our arrival, and readiness to proceed to business, to McGillivray, last night. He is about three miles on the other side of the Oconee, with all the Indians, and we have not yet seen him. It is but justice to say, that from every thing which we have yet learned, the former Commissioners have conducted themselves, with respect to the present negotiations, in a very commendable manner. The Execu-

tive have resolved to give us every aid and facility in the business. We have not been here long enough to be assured of the prospects of success, or to know the difficulties that may occur. All we can say is, that we shall act with all the zeal and perseverance to promote the public service, which may be in our power. It is a favorable circumstance, that the present Commission is certainly very acceptable to the whole State, unless a few land-jobbers be accepted. It is also pretty well ascertained, that McGillivray is desirous of peace; and his word is a law to the Creeks. With my best respects to Mrs. Washington, love to the children, and compliments to the gentlemen of the family, I have the honor to be, my dear General,

With the purest attachment, &c.,

DAVID HUMPHREYS.

P. S. The number of Indians, I believe, does not amount to more than two thousand, notwithstanding the exaggerated accounts we had received.

FROM DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Rock Landing, 26 September, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Finding an opportunity to Augusta, I could not excuse myself from giving you the progress of our negotiation since my last.

On Monday last (that is to say, the day after the arrival of General Lincoln and myself), a Deputation from all the Creeks of the Tuccasee, the Hallowing, and the Tallassee Kings, waited upon us, to congratu-

late us on our arrival; to express, in general terms, their desire of peace; to smoke the pipe of friendship as a token of it; and to brush our faces with the white wing of reconciliation, in sign of their sincere intention to wipe away all past grievances. We gave them friendly assurances in return. They, with the fat King, the Euchee King, and two or three other great Chiefs, dined with us, and seemed well satisfied. In the afternoon, we crossed to the Indian camp, had an interview with McGillivray, showed him our full powers, and asked, in writing, for such evidence of theirs as the nature of the case would admit. Much general talk, expressive of a real desire to establish a permanent peace upon equitable terms, took place.

The next day, McGillivray dined with us; and, although he got very much intoxicated, he seemed to retain his recollection and reason beyond what I had ever seen in a person when in the same condition. At this time I became intimate, to a certain degree, with him, and endeavoured to extract his real sentiments and feelings, in a conversation alone, confidentially. He declared he was really desirous of a peace; that the local situation of the Creeks required that they should be connected with us rather than any other people; that, however, they had certain advantages in their treaty with Spain, in respect to a guaranty and trade, which they ought not, in justice to themselves, to give up without an equivalent. Upon his desiring to know what were our intentions, especially as he knew from my character, and from my having been long in habits of intimacy with General Washington, that I would tell him what he might depend upon, I assured him, upon my honor, that our policy with respect to his nation was indeed founded upon hon-

esty, magnanimity, and mutual advantages. We descended to no particulars, farther than my assuring him of our good opinion of his abilities, and desire to attach him, upon principles perfectly consistent with the good of his nation, to our interest. I concluded by intimating what, in that case, we might possibly consider ourselves at liberty to do for him. Mr. Griffin arrived that night.

Wednesday was occupied in arranging the proposed draught of a treaty, and drawing up a talk to be delivered the next day. The other Commissioners desired me to go over the Oconee, and communicate these draughts in confidence to McGillivray. I did, and found him dissatisfied with the proposed boundary, and some other things. General Lincoln had, in the morning, been in McGillivray's camp, and agreed with him that the Chiefs should receive our propositions at our camp; but, finding a jealousy prevailed with some of the Indians, lest a design might be formed to circumvent them, on my return we wrote that, if it was more convenient, we would make our communications in their camp. This proposal they acquiesced in very gratefully. On Thursday, at eleven o'clock, we were received with more etiquette than ever I had before witnessed, at the great ceremony of *Black Drink*. We made our communications in the square of the nation, and returned.

Yesterday morning McGillivray wrote to us that the Chiefs had been in Council until late the night before; that they objected to some part of our talks, and principally to that which related to boundary; that it was, however, his decision that the matter should rest as it was for the present; and that a kind of truce should be established until they should hear further from us on the part of the United States.

In the mean time, he signified that some presents to the Chiefs would be necessary. In answer, we wrote him, after recapitulating the substance of his letter, that, as the Chiefs objected to some of the articles proposed by us, we desired to receive from them in writing the only terms upon which they would enter into a treaty with us; that we were as well prepared to treat now as we should be at any other time; we did not believe that it was by any means probable that the United States would ever send another Commission to them; and that we were not authorized to make any presents whatever, unless we should conclude a treaty of peace with them.

Finding, from verbal information, that a capital misconception had happened to the Indian Chiefs, with regard to one of the rivers marked in the boundary, the other Commissioner wished me to go over to the Creek camp, explain the mistake to McGillivray, and make the necessary alteration in the draught. I had a very long private conversation with him, and he appeared for himself to be much better contented than he had hitherto been. The difficulties in regard to boundaries seemed to be in a great measure overcome; and an apprehension of the ill consequences of their breaking with Spain, together with an earnest solicitude to have a free, unincumbered port, were now apparently the great obstacles. He was very much agitated, very much embarrassed, and hardly knew what to determine upon.

After I left him, he expressed to an interpreter a belief, that a permanent peace might take place before we parted. How that may be, probably this day will decide. In the afternoon, yesterday, McGillivray sent over John Galphin, with Galphin's father-in-law, the Hallowing King, to acquaint us that all the

towns, except the Cowetas, were removed about two miles back, for the sake of pasture for their horses. Should they go off without any further discussions, it will be a clear indication that they prefer a connection with Spain rather than with America; and that they wish for war rather than for peace.

I have not leisure to give you a description of the person and character of McGillivray. His countenance has nothing liberal and open in it; it has, however, sufficient marks of understanding. In short, he appears to have the good sense of an American, the shrewdness of a Scotchman, and the cunning of an Indian. I think he is so much addicted to debauchery, that he will not live four years. He dresses altogether in the Indian fashion, and is rather slovenly than otherwise. His influence is probably as great as we have understood it was; and his services may certainly be very important, if he can be sincerely attached to our interests. I hope to have hereafter the honor of reporting to you the substance of several confidential discourses, which have occurred between him and me.

My most affectionate regards to Mrs. Washington and the family. Conclude me with every sentiment of devotion and consideration, my dear General,

Your most obliged friend and humble servant,

DAVID HUMPHREYS.

P. S. The Commissioners have acted perfectly harmoniously in every measure which they have hitherto taken. The characters of General Lincoln and Mr. Griffin have the greatest weight with McGillivray and the Creeks.

FROM DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Rock Landing, 27 September, 1789.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Since I had the honor of writing to you yesterday, some things have happened, of which I conceive it expedient to give information by this conveyance.

On the evening of the 25th, McGillivray omitted to comply with his positive promise, to write to us, or come over the river, in order to explain the objections of the Chiefs to the project of the treaty which we had proposed to them, and to propose alterations. Instead of removing, as he had intimated by Galphin, two miles back, for the sake of pasture, we were informed, in the forenoon yesterday, that he had set out on his return to the nation, without even deigning to send us any written or verbal message. It is true, he permitted an Indian trader to inform us (of his own motion) of this fact, and that he (McGillivray) would halt for that day, at Commissioners' Creek, fifteen or eighteen miles distant.

McGillivray's pretences for this movement homeward (if rightly reported) are of the most frivolous and unjustifiable nature. He is said to pretend to be dissatisfied, that, in a private conversation, I had questioned the powers of himself and those present, to make a treaty that would be binding upon the whole nation. The fact is far otherwise. When he spoke of the invalidity of some of the treaties between Georgia and the Creeks, because the latter were not fully represented, I asked him how it was to be proved, that their nation was fully represented at this time. I lamented that the uncivilized state of the nation would not perhaps admit of the same evi-

dence to legalize proceedings, which civilized nations required, and inquired whether the *White Lieutenant* (a very great Chief, not present) would agree to whatever should now be done. It is farther said, by the Indian trader above mentioned, that McGillivray pretended I had told him that, upon making this treaty with us, he must entirely break with the Spanish Government. I told him, on the contrary, that, as far as I could learn from him the nature of his connection with Spain, I did not suppose the proposed treaty to be incompatible with it; that I would not wish him to do any thing which should in the least injure his good faith; but that, if a connection with us and with Spain was incompatible, it was doubtless in his option to decide which of the two powers he would be connected with.

These misrepresentations are not the only reprehensible things we have seen in his conduct. He made a false pretext, "that the Indians were so much alarmed for their personal safety that they dared not trust themselves in our camp, and that two towns were on the point of going home, on the same account," in order that we might go over and make our talk in their camp. And, indeed, he insists that, though we were formerly, when connected with Britain, styled their father and older brother, yet we are at present truly their younger brother. The falsehood of the pretext that the Indians were so much alarmed for their safety that they dared not trust themselves in our camp, was clearly evinced yesterday. About eleven o'clock, almost or quite all the principal Chiefs of the Upper and Lower towns, with a great number of individuals, came over to shake hands with us, and to assure us, in a long talk, that they were not at all offended with us; that they desir-

ed peace very much; that, though they could not conclude a peace without McGillivray, their beloved man, who was sick, yet they had inculcated upon all their people to abstain from all hostility and plundering, under threats of the severest punishment. In short, they seemed to consider a peace as mutually wished for, and in fact agreed upon, except in the forms.

In answer, we gave them assurances that the United States entertained the most just and friendly dispositions towards them, and hoped that a treaty might still be concluded before we separated finally. We wished them to use their influence with McGillivray, that he would return and renew the negotiation. For which purpose we informed them we were sending one more pressing message to McGillivray, by General Pickens and Mr. Few, who went, soon after, to see him accordingly. Several of the Kings dined with us, and remained until night, with the greatest possible apparent good humor, and indications of a sincere desire for peace.

The White Bird King spoke first, in the name of the whole. The Tallassee King, after dinner, made a long, and, as well as we could understand from an indifferent interpretation, a pathetic oration to all the Kings, head men, and people, urging the necessity of being in strict amity with the whites, as they prized their existence and every thing dear to them. All were greatly affected, and some shed tears. The only great representative from the Seminoles, sent back, after he left us, a confirmation of the same good dispositions, by the interpreter. Upon the whole, I believe that no room for doubt was left in the mind of any one present, that, if a peace shall not be concluded, the fault will rest with McGillivray alone,

who holds up, in his conversations, as it best suits his convenience, that he does every thing himself in national affairs; or, that he can do nothing without humoring and consulting the Indians. It is a melancholy consideration, to reflect that a whole nation must sometimes perish for the sins of one man.

I shall defer closing this letter until the return of General Pickens and Mr. Few. While I feel a consciousness that our transactions will stand approved in the eye of reason and justice, I apprehend that we never can depend upon McGillivray for his firm attachment to the interests of the United States. And yet I believe he regards the interests of the United States just as much as he does the interests of the Creek nation. If I mistake not his character, his own importance and pecuniary emolument are the objects which will altogether influence his conduct. It was held out, in discourse, yesterday, by John Galphin, a creature of McGillivray, that a pressing invitation has just been sent from the Spaniards, accompanied by a vast quantity of ammunition, for McGillivray to come and treat with them. I fancy that he now wavers between Spain and America; for which reason he wishes, in all likelihood, to postpone the further negotiation with the latter until the spring. It is, however, questionable whether he has ever had a formal treaty with, or received a genuine commission from, the King of Spain. Probably his hopes have been much elevated lately, insomuch as to induce him to believe that he can obtain better terms for himself from the King than from us.

General Pickens and Mr. Few are just now returned, and report that they found McGillivray not at the distance he was said to be, but on the other side of the Ocmulgee. He would not give the terms

on which the Creeks would make peace, or come back to renew the negotiations on the subject. He objected only to three articles;—being under the protection of the United States; not having a port perfectly free from duties; and the proposed boundary. But his objection seemed to be of the least weight with himself, against the last. They fully coincide with me in opinion that he is determined to see whether he cannot obtain more advantageous terms from Spain than from the United States.

The fact is also said by these gentlemen to be established, that a large quantity of arms and ammunition has lately arrived in the Creek nation, with a friendly talk from the Governor of Pensacola. McGillivray wrote us a letter in very general terms, in which he affected to consider our first draught of a treaty as our *ultimatum*. This was both contrary to his good sense, and to repeated positive assurances. We shall write to him by an Indian trader, to-day, very explicitly; and, after taking such farther measures to ascertain facts as may be in our power, we shall commence our journey through North Carolina to New York. Thus the business seems to be terminated for the present; though not according to our wishes. With sentiments of the purest respect, I have the honor to be, my dear General,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,

DAVID HUMPHREYS.

FROM CATHARINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

Bracknal, Berks, October, 1789

SIR,

It is now about a year and a half since I had the

honor of receiving a letter from you, dated November 16th, 1787. I do not pretend to make you any apology for not troubling you with an acknowledgment sooner, though I rather think it necessary to make one for troubling you, in the important station you now fill, with my congratulations on the event which placed you at the head of the American Government. But it is not you, Sir, that I consider as benefited by the unanimous election of the Americans. Your philosophic turn of mind would have led you to the completion of human happiness in a private station; but the Americans, in their judicious choice, have, I flatter myself, secured to themselves the full and permanent enjoyment of that liberty, for which they are indebted to your persevering valor, in the first instance. Your wisdom and virtue will, undoubtedly, enable you to check the progress of every opinion inimical to those rights which you have so bravely and fortunately asserted, and for which many of your countrymen have paid so dear; and you will be a bright example, to future Presidents, of an integrity rarely to be met with in the first stations of life.

All the friends of freedom on this side the Atlantic are now rejoicing for an event which, in all probability, has been accelerated by the American Revolution. You not only possess, yourselves, the first of human blessings, but you have been the means of raising that spirit in Europe, which I sincerely hope will, in a short time, extinguish every remain of that barbarous servitude under which all the European nations, in a less or a greater degree, have so long been subject. The French have justified the nobleness of their original character, and, from the immersions of luxury and frivolity, have set an example that is

unique in all the histories of human society; a populous nation effecting, by the firmness of their union, the universality of their sentiments, and the energy of their actions, the entire overthrow of a despotism that had stood the test of ages. We are full of wonder, in this part of the world, and cannot conceive how such things should be. Your friend and *élève*, the Marquis de la Fayette, has acted a part in this revolution, which has raised him above his former exploits, because his conduct has been directed to the good of his distressed countrymen, and shows him far above those base and narrow selfishnesses with which particular privileges are so apt to taint the human mind.

I have heard that a Monsieur Brissot de Warville has lately become a citizen of America. He is a warm friend to liberty, and a man of the first-rate abilities. He is a great friend of mine; and, as I presume he has been presented to your Excellency, I will take the liberty, which your known goodness inspires, to beg that you would remember me to him, and assure him of my wishes for his prosperity and happiness.

Mr. Graham joins me in best respects to yourself and Mrs. Washington. We contemplate, with no small pleasure, the advantage America will reap from that check to all the luxuries of dress which her example of an elegant simplicity in this article will undoubtedly effect. I am, Sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and obliged humble servant,

CATHARINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

FROM SIR EDWARD NEWENHAM.

10 October, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

I would not omit the first opportunity of expressing the additional obligation your Excellency has conferred on me, by introducing me to that respectable character, Mrs. Montgomery. She forwarded your letter by the post, as she is at Lord Ranelagh's, twelve miles from this. Early the next morning, lady Newenham and I paid our respects, and had the pleasure of meeting her. Anxious to enjoy her company, we pressed her to return, and spend a few days here.

She returned the visit on the following day, and has promised, on her return from visiting her late brave soldier's relations, to favor us with her company. I introduced her into my American room, which gave her much satisfaction, as she saw your Excellency's, and the pictures of all the respectable characters in America. She remarked with pleasure the picture of one Arnold *reversed*, and his *treason* wrote under it. She viewed the bust of the venerable and great Franklin with sensible emotion. We had but a short time for conversation, as Lord Ranelagh was in a hurry to attend at the levee of the Lords Justices. Little did I expect to see the widow of that man, on whose death I publicly expressed my sentiments of the American war and his character, by appearing in Parliament in full mourning, and attending levees in the same dress. At that period, others were afraid to express their feelings; but from that moment, the papers announcing what I did, public conversation became more free, and the merits of the attack and defence of liberty were properly canvass-

ed. It was soon afterwards that I was Chairman of the first meeting that reprobated and stopped the plan of sending all the military of this Kingdom to America, and hiring Hessians and Hanoverians from the carcass butchers of Germany.

I acquainted the Duke of Leinster, Lord Charlemont, &c. &c., of Mrs. Montgomery's arrival. They immediately wrote me word "that they would wait on her, and particularly so, on account of the great character that recommends her." These are the words of all the answers I have got. General Massy, with whom General Montgomery was well acquainted at the first siege of Quebec, has paid his respects to her, the very day I wrote to him. Lady Newenham will continue her attention. I sent the Duke of Leinster's and Lord Charlemont's letters to her.

Every day brings accounts of the spirit of liberty spreading through Europe. Though nothing of that kind has as yet occurred in Sweden, I am inclined to think that, if the King is not very circumspect, the people will renovate the Constitution, and again recall their right of elections and privileges. There is much discontent in that country, and Russia is growing too ponderous and extensive for the sovereign of Petersburg to command so distant an empire.

A number of the first men of character, rank, and fortune, in this country, have associated under the name of the *Whig Club*; and each member is pledged under his hand, to support certain popular measures. It will, I hope, increase to a proper degree of strength and consequence. Something of that kind is now wanting; for the present administration is taking longer strides to despotism, than ever any former administration attempted. Even North and Bute never ventured to insult this country, as our present

Viceroy has presumed to do. He did not think himself very safe here; therefore he left us, and I believe will not return again. Reports say that Weymouth (the foe of American freedom) is to succeed him.

I have the honor to send your Excellency a few papers, hoping they may not be delayed, as they contain the truest accounts from France, though it may happen that you have received them before the arrival of this letter. There is a spirit arisen in the city of Dublin against the unconstitutional and expensive police (which is an absolute burden of twenty-one thousand pounds a year, instead of four thousand five hundred pounds, exclusive of the Ministerial patronage), as it adds two hundred and forty votes to their interest in the city, and near one hundred in this county. Their greatest efforts will be exerted at the ensuing election to carry one member for the city, and two for this county; in the latter case, they have got (as they have done these twenty-one years) the other two candidates to join against me. However, I hope to succeed; though I never spent in money, meat, drink, or promises, the value of one shilling, on the contests for twenty-one years, except the poll-clerks, one lawyer, and advertisements. I never have an election dinner. I laid down this rule on my first entrance into public life, and have never altered my plan. Nor do I ever solicit any voter a second time.

This season has been the wettest, most stormy, and irregular, which has happened here these fifteen years. Between the blasts, rains, and lightning, all our fruit was destroyed, our corn damaged; but we have still enough for our own consumption; hay in greater plenty than has been known for seven years.

That will prevent the great rise (with abundance of potatoes) of other articles. With the warmest sentiments of respect for your Excellency, and an unalterable attachment to the liberties of America, I remain, dear Sir, your most faithful and

Most obedient, humble servant,

EDWARD NEWENHAM.

P. S. Lady Newenham joins me in best regards to Mrs. Washington.

FROM GOVERNOR HANCOCK.

Boston, 21 October, 1789.

SIR,

Having received information that you intended to honor this State with a visit, and wishing personally to show you every mark of attention which the most sincere friendship can induce, I beg the favor of your making my house the place of your residence while you shall remain in Boston. I could wish that the accommodations were better suited to a gentleman of your respectability; but you may be assured that nothing on my part shall be wanting to render them as agreeable as possible.

As Governor of the Commonwealth, I feel it to be my duty to receive your visit with such tokens of respect as may answer the expectations of my constituents, and may in some measure express the high sentiments of respect they feel towards you. I have therefore issued orders for proper escorts to attend you; and Colonel Hall, Deputy Adjutant-General, will wait upon you at Worcester, and will inform you of the disposition I have made of the troops at Cam-

bridge, under the command of General Brooks, and request that you would be so obliging as to pass that way to the town, where you will receive such other tokens of respect from the people, as will serve further to evince how gratefully they recollect your exertions for their liberties, and their confidence in you as President of the United States of America.

The gentlemen of the Council will receive you at Cambridge, and attend you to town. I should be obliged to you, on the return of this express, to let me know when you propose to be in Boston, and as near as you can the time of the day. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,
JOHN HANCOCK.

FROM GOVERNOR HANCOCK.

Boston, 23 October, 1789.

SIR,

Your letter, by the return express, I had the honor to receive, at three o'clock, this morning. It would have given me pleasure, had a residence at my house met with your approbation.

I observe you had proposed taking an early dinner at Watertown, and proceeding to Cambridge, and from thence to Boston, on Saturday afternoon. I beg leave, if it should not interfere with your determination, or prove inconvenient, to request that you would so far vary your former intention, as to arrive in Boston by one o'clock. In case this request should meet your approbation, I beg the favor that you, with the gentlemen of your suite, would honor me with your

company at dinner on Saturday *en famille*, at any hour that the circumstances of the day will admit.

I shall esteem it an honor, if you will favor me with a few lines, by the return express, with your determination on the subject. I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem and respect, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Orange, 20 November, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

It was my purpose to have dropped you a few lines from Philadelphia, but I was too much indisposed during my detention there to avail myself of that pleasure. Since my arrival here, I have till now been without a fit conveyance to the post-office.

You will recollect the contents of a letter shown you from Mr. Innes to Mr. Brown. Whilst I was in Philadelphia, I was informed by the latter, who was detained there as well as myself by indisposition, that he had received later accounts, though not from the same correspondent, that the Spaniards have finally put an entire stop to the trade of our citizens down the river. The encouragements to such as settle under their own Government are continued.

A day or two after I got to Philadelphia, I fell in with Mr. Morris. He broke the subject of the residence of Congress, and made observations which betrayed his dislike of the upshot of the business at New York, and his desire to keep alive the southern project of an arrangement with Pennsylvania. I reminded him of the conduct of his State, and inti-

mated that the question would probably sleep for some time in consequence of it. His answer implied that Congress must not continue at New York; and that, if he should be freed from his engagements with the Eastern States, by their refusal to take up the bill, and pass it as it went to the Senate, he should renounce all confidence in that quarter, and speak seriously to the Southern States. I told him they must be spoken to very seriously, after what had passed, if Pennsylvania expected them to listen to her; that, indeed, there was probably an end to further intercourse on the subject. He signified that, if he should speak, it would be in earnest, and he believed no one would pretend that his conduct would justify the least distrust of his going through with his undertakings; adding, however, that he was determined, and accordingly gave me, as he had given others, notice that he should call up the postponed bill as soon as Congress should be reassembled.

I observed to him that, if it was desirable to have the matter revived, we could not wish to have it in a form more likely to defeat itself. It was unparliamentary and highly inconvenient, and would therefore be opposed by all candid friends to his object, as an improper precedent, as well as by those who were opposed to the object itself; and, if he should succeed in the Senate, the irregularity of the proceeding would justify the other House in withholding the signature of its speaker; so that the bill would never go up to the President. He acknowledged that the bill could not be got through, unless it had a majority in both Houses, on its merits. Why then, I asked, not take it up anew? He said he meant to bring the gentlemen who had postponed the bill to the point; acknowledged that he distrusted them,

but held his engagements binding on him, until this final experiment should be made on the respect they meant to pay to theirs.

I do not think it difficult to augur, from this conversation, the views which will govern Pennsylvania at the next session. Conversations held by Grayson, both with Morris and others in Philadelphia, and left by him in a letter to me, coincide with what I have stated. An attempt will first be made to alarm New York and the Eastern States into the plan postponed, by holding out the Potomac and Philadelphia as the alternative; and, if the attempt should not succeed, the alternative will then be held out to the southern members. On the other hand, New York and the Eastern States will enforce their policy of delay, by threatening the Southern States, as heretofore, with Germantown, or Trenton, or at least Susquehanna, and will, no doubt, carry the threat into execution if they can, rather than suffer an arrangement to take place between Pennsylvania and the Southern States.

I hear nothing certain from the Assembly. It is said that an attempt of Mr. H. to revive the project of commutables, has been defeated; that the amendments have been taken up, and are likely to be put off to the next session, the present House having been elected prior to the promulgation of them. This reason would have more force if the amendments did not so much correspond, as far as they go, with the propositions of the State Convention, which were before the public long before the last election. At any rate, the Assembly might pass a vote of approbation along with the postponement, and assign the reason of referring the ratification to their successors. It is probable that the scruple has arisen with the disaffected party. If it be construed by the public into

a latent hope of some contingent opportunity for prosecuting the war against the General Government, I am of opinion the experiment will recoil on the authors of it. As far as I can gather, the great bulk of the late opponents are entirely at rest, and more likely to censure a further opposition to the Government, as now administered, than the Government itself. One of the principal leaders of the Baptists lately sent me word that the amendments had entirely satisfied the disaffected of his sect, and that it would appear in their subsequent conduct.

I ought not to conclude without some apology for so slovenly a letter. I put off writing it till an opportunity should present itself, not knowing but something from time to time might turn up that would make it less unworthy of your perusal; and it has so happened that the opportunity barely gives me time for this hasty scrawl. With the most perfect esteem and affectionate attachment, I remain, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM JAMES MADISON.

Orange, 5 December, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Since my last I have been furnished with the inclosed copy of the letter from the Senators of this State to its Legislature. It is well calculated to keep alive the disaffection to the Government; and is, accordingly, applied to that use by the violent partisans. I understand the letter was written by the first subscriber of it, as, indeed, is pretty evident from the style and strain of it. The other, *it is said*,

subscribed it with reluctance. I am less surprised that this should have been the case, than that he should have subscribed at all.

My last information from Richmond is contained in the following extract from a letter of the 28th of November, from an intelligent member of the House of Delegates. "The revenue bill, which proposes a reduction of the public taxes one fourth below the last year's amount, is with the Senate. Whilst this business was before the House of Delegates, a proposition was made to receive tobacco and hemp as commutables, which was negatived; the House determining still to confine the collection to specie and specie warrants. Two or three petitions have been presented, which asked a general suspension of executions for twelve months; they were read, but denied a reference. The Assembly have passed an act for altering the time of choosing Representatives to Congress, which is now fixed to be on the third Monday in September, suspending the powers of the Representative until the February after his election. This change was made, to suit the time of the annual meeting of Congress. The fate of the amendments, proposed by Congress to the General Government, is still in suspense. In a Committee of the Whole House, the first ten were acceded to with little opposition; for, on a question taken on each separately, there was scarcely a dissenting voice. On the two last, a debate of some length took place, which ended in rejection. Mr. E. Randolph, who advocated all the others, stood, in this contest, in the front of opposition. His principal objection was pointed against the word "*retained*," in the eleventh proposed amendment; and his argument, if I understood it, was applied in this manner;—that, as the rights declared in the

first ten of the proposed amendments were not all that a free people would require the exercise of, and that, as there was no criterion by which it could be determined whether any other particular right was retained or not, it would be more safe and more consistent with the spirit of the first and seventeenth amendments, proposed by Virginia, that this reservation against constructive power should operate rather as a provision against extending the powers of Congress by their own authority, than a protection to rights reducible to no definitive certainty.

“But others, among whom I am one, see not the force of the distinction ; for, by preventing an extension of power in that body from which danger is apprehended, safety will be insured, if its powers be not too extensive already ; and so, by protecting the rights of the people and of the States, an improper extension of power will be prevented, and safety made equally certain. If the House should agree to the resolution for rejecting the two last, I am of opinion that it will bring the whole into hazard again, as some, who have been decided friends to the ten first, think it would be unwise to adopt them without the eleventh and twelfth. Whatever may be the fate of the amendments submitted by Congress, it is probable that an application for further amendments will be made by this Assembly ; for the opposition to the Federal Constitution is, in my opinion, reduced to a single point, the power of direct taxation. Those who wish the change are desirous of repeating the application ; whilst those who wish it not, are indifferent on the subject, supposing that Congress will not propose a change which would take from them a power so necessary for the accomplishment of those objects which are confided to their care.

“Messrs. Joseph Jones and Spencer Roane are appointed Judges of the General Court, to fill the vacancies occasioned by the death of Mr. Cary, and the removal of Mr. Mercer to the Court of Appeals.”

The difficulty started against the amendments is really unlucky; and the more to be regretted, as it springs from a friend to the Constitution. It is a still greater cause of regret, if the distinction be, as it appears to me, altogether fanciful. If a line can be drawn between the powers granted and the rights retained, it would seem to be the same thing, whether the latter be secured by declaring that they shall not be abridged, or that the former shall not be extended. If no line can be drawn, a declaration, in either form, would amount to nothing. If the distinction were just, it does not seem to be of sufficient importance to justify the risk of losing the amendments, of furnishing a handle to the disaffected, and of arming North Carolina with a pretext, if she be disposed, to prolong her exile from the Union. With every sentiment of respect and attachment, I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient and humble servant,

JAMES MADISON, JR.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Richmond, 6 December, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

When I had the honor of writing to you last, the amendments had, I believe, been under consideration in a Committee of the Whole, and ten were adopted, and the two last rejected. Upon the report being

made to the House, and without a debate of any consequence, the whole twelve were ratified. They are now with the Senate, who were yesterday employed about them. That body will attempt to postpone them; for a majority is unfriendly to the Government. But an effort will be made against this destructive measure.

In the House of Delegates, it was yesterday moved to declare the remainder of the amendments, proposed by our Convention, essential to the rights and liberties of the people. An amendment was offered, saying that, in pursuance of the will of the people, as expressed by our Convention, the General Assembly ought to urge Congress to a *reconsideration* of them. The amendment was carried by the Speaker giving a casting vote. This shows the strength of the parties; and that, in the House of Delegates, the antifederal force has diminished much since the last year. A representation is to be prepared, and the inclosed speaks the temper which we wish to exhibit in it. Whether we shall succeed in our attempt to carry such a remonstrance through, is with me very doubtful. It will be pushed, because it seems to discountenance any future importunities for amendments, which, in my opinion, is now a very important point. I should have been sanguine in my belief of carrying the representation through, in its present form, if the friends would have joined the enemies of the Constitution, in suspending the ratification of the eleventh amendment, which is exceptionable to me, in giving a handle to say, that Congress have endeavoured to administer an opiate, by an alteration, which is merely plausible.

The twelfth amendment does not appear to me to have any real effect, unless it be to excite a dispute

between the United States and every particular State, as to what is delegated. It accords pretty nearly with what our Convention proposed; but, being once adopted, it may produce new matter for the cavils of the designing. I am, dear Sir, your

Obliged and affectionate friend and servant,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

P. S. I shall do myself the honor of replying to your official letter, as soon as the Assembly rises.

FROM GOVERNOR PINCKNEY.

Charleston, South Carolina, 14 December, 1789.

DEAR SIR,

Your avocations have been so numerous and important since your entrance into office, that I have not troubled you with but one letter, which was to recommend Mr. Hall, and to very sincerely congratulate you upon your appointment to the Supreme Magistracy. I am well convinced that to increase the number of your correspondents unnecessarily, is to do you a serious injury. For, I should suppose, with official communications, with proper and improper applications for favors, and the oppressive correspondence of numbers who, with very little information or pleasure to you, write merely for the purpose of boasting the honor of your correspondence,—with such I have always considered you so overwhelmed that I have hitherto forbore to write to you, although motives of respect, as well as information, ought frequently to have induced me.

Upon the present occasion, I feel myself in some

measure obliged, from the situation which I hold, to state to you my sentiments on the critical situation of our neighbouring State, and eventually the frontiers of this. To predict, with some degree of certainty, what may be the consequence of things remaining in the state they are, and no treaty formed with the Creeks and southern Indians, permit me to trespass for a moment upon your time, by observing, that (however I confess it is conjectural) there appear to me to be good grounds for supposing that the situation of our foreign concerns is totally changed with respect to Spain. Upon the conclusion of the peace, I believe it was the intention of that Court to have entered into a treaty of amity and commerce with us, to have been our friends, and to have done every thing in their power to have promoted the intercourse. But they mistook the means; for, instead of forming a treaty upon those terms which would have insured a reciprocity of benefits, they thought the best way to remove every future ground of difference, to prevent our becoming dangerous neighbours, and to keep us at a distance, was to propose the surrender of a right as degrading to the honor, as it would have been ultimately injurious to the interests, of the Union.

I happened to be in Congress at the time the proposal was brought forward through the then Secretary, Mr. Jay. Having more leisure, or having more maturely considered the offer, I was requested, by the opponents, to prepare an answer to the reasons which Mr. Jay offered in support of Mr. Gardoqui's proposal. This I did, and being afterwards desired, by many of the southern members, to furnish them with copies, I had a few printed, which were confidentially delivered to some of my friends, for their information upon a

subject which at that time very much engaged the attention of the public. I have the honor to inclose you one of the few copies I have left. I do so in order that I may not only more clearly illustrate the observations I am about to make, but also that, in case another attempt should be made to conclude this treaty, you may be informed of the reasons which at that time induced an opposition. As the business of treaties must ever be of a secret nature, you will no doubt consider the communication as it is intended, entirely confidential.

The Court of Spain, being defeated in this measure, have appeared to me to entirely change their ground. The original, and I believe the only reason, of Spain's anxiety to conclude a treaty with us, was to secure her American Continental possessions from being at any time the object of invasion or insult from the southern, or more probably the western, inhabitants of the Union. They have ever dreaded the settlement of the western territory, and looked forward to the time when it would become necessary for its inhabitants to use the Mississippi, as a period very likely to produce those uneasinesses, which would perhaps end in the invasion of their dominions.

Had they at first proposed a solid and reciprocally beneficial treaty, it would have prevented, or at least postponed for a number of years, any danger of this sort. But having, as I have already observed, wrongly conceived the means of effecting it, and being foiled in their first attempt, they have now changed their ground. They are endeavouring, by every exertion in their power, to attach, not only the southern Indians, but as many as they possibly can of the inhabitants of the western territory, closely to their interest. They have completely succeeded with some

of the most powerful nations of the southern Indians. Hence the difficulty of treating with them; and I am sorry to find, from accounts which appear to me to be tolerably authentic, that they have diverted a considerable number of the inhabitants of some of the States, and tempted them to become settlers within their borders.

Thus situated, it seems to me as beyond a doubt, that they are the spring of all the present disturbances with the Creeks, and that they are cherishing a spirit of discontent and disaffection in them and the western inhabitants to the Government of the Union. By means of their intrigues, Georgia has been, for some years, in a lamentable state of depredation and distress. Although they have hitherto forbore to commit hostilities on the citizens of this State, yet the inhabitants are in an uneasy and disagreeable situation. They all look up to the Union for the establishment of that solid and permanent treaty, which can alone secure to them the peaceable enjoyment of their possessions.

Not having been officially informed of the reasons of the late Commission's miscarrying, I am unable to form any judgment of the motives which occasioned it. As I am confident a general Indian war would not only be attended with great inconvenience to Georgia and our frontiers, but with a very considerable expenditure of blood and treasure to the Union, I have made it a point to acquire, from the most respectable authority on their borders and elsewhere, such information as is the most to be depended upon. Not to detain you with a circumstantial account of the means used to obtain it, or a detail of their relations, the result is, that however anxious the Spanish Court are to foment and continue the existing

animosities, yet there is a disposition in the Indians, upon just and proper principles, to again become the friends, and probably the allies, of the Union. In this temper they now are; and I am convinced, that detaching Mr. McGillivray from his Spanish connections, and confirming him the friend, and perhaps the useful agent, of the United States, is not a difficult or improbable measure.

To you, Sir, I have been repeatedly requested to suggest these opinions. From the weight and influence of your character and situation, much is very properly expected. As the organ, therefore, of a growing and important territory, whose future population and consequence depend upon the friendship and intercourse of their Indian neighbours, I entreat the early and earnest attention of the General Government, to whom, with great propriety, the sole management of Indian affairs is now committed. I am the more anxious on this point, because, on the renewal of hostilities in June last, the Executive of Georgia, in virtue of the Union, made a formal requisition on me for the aid of this State. Fortunately, a truce was concluded before it was necessary to interfere.

When I consider the number and force of the hostile Indian tribes; how formidably their number might be increased, should the same intrigues induce the Choctaws to join them; how much the power of the Indian nations must be increased by the arrangement of their affairs being in the hands of such a man as Mr. McGillivray; and how amply they are assisted by the Spanish Court, not only in stores and money, but even in the aid of disciplinarians, to introduce as much order as Indians are capable of receiving;—when I add to these the little that is to be obtained

by a war, and the distresses and expenses it must occasion, you will pardon, I am sure, the anxiety I am under to have a permanent and solid peace. No State arrangement, no truce, no partial compromise, will be sufficient. They must be taught to revere the justice of the Union, and look up to it as the sole means of giving to them a lasting treaty, and the secure possession of their real rights.

So much for business of a public nature. Permit me now to thank you for the many marks of regard I received while with you in 1787; particularly in furnishing me with introductory letters to your friends in Europe, had I pursued the route I at that time intended. Although I have hitherto been prevented, by marrying, and being requested by my friends to accept the Government, I have by no means given it up altogether.

My term of office will expire in a twelvemonth, when, if nothing prevents, I shall endeavour to execute my former plan. I am strengthened in this idea by the wish of my wife to revisit that part of the world. She is the daughter of Mr. Laurens, and sister to your former Aid-de-camp, our deceased and much-lamented friend, Colonel John Laurens. From the age of seven to fourteen, she was educated in France, and, until she came to this country, remained in England; so that her accurate knowledge of the French language, and acquaintance with their customs, will be extremely useful, should curiosity or business make it necessary for me to go there, or to any of the neighbouring States of Europe.

From your late tour we are flattered with the hope of your one day visiting this country. Whenever you so far honor us, I am sure that every thing in our power will be done to render your visit pleasing

and agreeable to you. I am, with the sincerest respect and esteem,

Dear Sir, your truly much obliged,

CHARLES PINCKNEY.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Chesterfield, 15 December, 1789.

SIR,

I have received at this place the honor of your letters of October the 13th and November the 30th, and am truly flattered by your nomination of me to the very dignified office of Secretary of State; for which permit me here to return you my humble thanks. Could any circumstance seduce me to overlook the disproportion between its duties and my talents, it would be the encouragement of your choice. But when I contemplate the extent of that office, embracing, as it does, the principal mass of domestic administration, together with the foreign, I cannot be insensible of my inequality to it; and I should enter on it with gloomy forebodings from the criticisms and censures of a public, just indeed in their intentions, but sometimes misinformed and misled, and always too respectable to be neglected. I cannot but foresee the possibility that this may end disagreeably for me, who, having no motive to public service but the public satisfaction, would certainly retire the moment that satisfaction should appear to languish.

On the other hand, I feel a degree of familiarity with the duties of my present office, as far at least as I am capable of understanding its duties. The ground I have already passed over, enables me to see my way into that which is before me. The change

of government, too, taking place in the country where it is exercised, seems to open a possibility of procuring from the new rulers some new advantages in commerce, which may be agreeable to our countrymen. So that as far as my fears, my hopes, or my inclination might enter into this question, I confess they would not lead me to prefer a change.

But it is not for an individual to choose his post. You are to marshal us as may best be for the public good; and it is only in the case of its being indifferent to you, that I would avail myself of the option you have so kindly offered in your letter. If you think it better to transfer me to another post, my inclination must be no obstacle; nor shall it be, if there is any desire to suppress the office I now hold, or to reduce its grade. In either of these cases, be so good only as to signify to me, by another line, your ultimate wish, and I shall conform to it cordially. If it should be to remain at New York, my chief comfort will be to work under your eye, my only shelter the authority of your name, and the wisdom of measures to be dictated by you and implicitly executed by me. Whatever you may be pleased to decide, I do not see that the matters which have called me hither, will permit me to shorten the stay I originally asked; that is to say, to set out on my journey northward till the month of March. As early as possible in that month, I shall have the honor of paying my respects to you in New York. In the mean time, I have that of tendering you the homage of those sentiments of respectful attachment, with which I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM PAUL JONES.

Amsterdam, 20 December, 1789.

SIR,

I avail myself of the departure of the Philadelphia packet, Captain Earle, to transmit to your Excellency a letter I received for you on leaving Russia, in August last, from my friend, the Count de Ségur, Minister of France at St. Petersburg. That gentleman and myself have frequently conversed on subjects that regard America; and the most pleasing reflection of all has been, the happy establishment of the new Constitution, and that you are so deservedly placed at the head of the Government by the unanimous voice of America. Your name alone, Sir, has established in Europe a confidence, that was, for some time before, entirely wanting in American concerns; and I am assured that the happy effects of your Administration are still more sensibly felt throughout the United States. This is more glorious for you than all the laurels that your sword so nobly won in support of the rights of human nature. In war, your fame is immortal as the hero of liberty. In peace, you are her patron and the firmest supporter of her rights. Your greatest admirers, and even your best friends, have now but one wish left for you,—that you may long enjoy health and your present happiness.

I send by this occasion, to Mr. Charles Thomson and to Mr. John Adams, sundry documents from the Count de Ségur, on my subject. I presume that those pieces will be communicated to your Excellency. They explain, in some degree, my reasons for leaving Russia, and the danger to which I was exposed by the dark intrigues and mean subterfuges of Asiatic jealousy and malice.

Mr. Jefferson can inform you respecting my mission to the Court of Denmark. I was received and treated there with marked politeness; and, if the fine words I received are true, the business will soon be settled. I own, however, that I should have stronger hopes, if America had created a respectable marine; for that argument would give weight to every transaction with Europe.

I acquitted myself of the commission with which you honored me when last in America, by delivering your letters with my own hand, at Paris, to the persons to whom they were addressed. I am, Sir, with great respect, esteem, and attachment, your Excellency's

Most devoted and most humble servant,

PAUL JONES.

N. B. In case your Excellency should have any orders to send me, I think it my duty to subjoin my address, *under cover*, "To Messrs. N. & J. Van Stap-horst and Hubbard, Amsterdam."

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LA LUZERNE.

London, 17 January, 1790.

SIR,

I dare to flatter myself, that your Excellency does justice to the very tender and respectful attachment which I have long entertained towards you; and that you will be persuaded of the great pleasure with which I have learned the success that has followed the first movements of your administration. After having given freedom to your country, it was worthy

of the virtues and great character of your Excellency, to establish her happiness on a solid and permanent basis, which is assuredly the result of the new Federal Constitution, in framing which you assisted by your counsel, and which you now support as much by the splendor of your talents and patriotism, as by the eminent situation confided to you by your fellow-citizens. They possess the advantage of enjoying more particularly your beneficence, and the honor of having you born among them. But I dare to assure you, that the consideration which you enjoy throughout Europe, and particularly in my country, yields not even to that which you have obtained in your native land ; and, notwithstanding the prejudices of the people with whom I live here, there is not one among them who does not pronounce your name with sentiments of respect and veneration. All are acquainted with the services you have rendered to your country, as their General, in the course of the war, and with those, perhaps still greater, which you now render as a statesman, in peace.

The love of glory and of freedom, which led the Americans to surmount such great difficulties, must still prevail, after surmounting them, to establish the principles of justice towards those of their fellow-citizens and strangers who assisted them in their distress ; and I have seen, with great pleasure, that, from the first moment in which you have appeared at the head of the Federal Government, the credit of the American nation has been established in every country of Europe, and that the confidence in her resources and means is infinitely better founded, than in many of the older powers. It is beyond doubt that it will take still greater consistency, and that the freest country in the world ought also to be

that which should enjoy the most extensive public credit.

I am too well acquainted with your sentiments for France, not to be convinced of the interest which you take in her present position. The vices of an ancient and vitiated administration could not be reformed, even by the virtues of a King, who loves his people, and who has many qualities to make them happy. Some revolution was required in the form of the monarchy, and, above all, in setting bounds to the Ministerial authority in matters of finance. It was likewise necessary, that the liberty of the citizen should be assured, by a conclusive law, of which we were totally destitute. It is this which induced the King to assemble the States-General, who might easily have made some useful reforms, leaving the monarchy to subsist, or at least reforming it but slowly and partially. But the love of liberty, and still more the exaltation of opinions, have carried us too far; they have overturned every thing, without rebuilding any thing, which has reduced us to a very disagreeable situation for the moment. I hope that time will a little moderate opinions, and that we shall recur to true principles; and that, in assuring the liberty of the citizen, they will restore the authority of the Executive power, which is the soul of a great empire. If we can arrive at that state of things, I am persuaded the subject will have gained infinitely, and that even the position of the King will be more happy than it formerly was. But, unfortunately, to attain this situation we must reiterate a very thorny career; and our French heads are little fitted for such proofs.

Your ancient friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, finds himself at the head of the revolution; and it is indeed a very fortunate circumstance for the State that

he is, but very little so for himself. Never has any man been placed in a more critical situation. A good citizen, a faithful subject, he is embarrassed by a thousand difficulties in making many people sensible of what is proper, who very often feel it not, and who sometimes will not understand what it is.

He has occasion for all the aid of that wisdom and prudence which he acquired under your tuition; and assuredly he has hitherto proved himself worthy of his master, having supported the most difficult situation with the rarest talents and most astonishing foresight. I have the honor to be, with a very sincere and very respectful attachment, your Excellency's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

THE MARQUIS DE LA LUZERNE.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Paris, 22 January, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

Yesterday I went to dine with the Count de Montmorin,* and expressed to him my wish that France might seize the present moment to establish a liberal system of commercial policy for her Colonies. I observed, that her interest was deeply at stake, because America could always dispose of the Islands, and would naturally wish to see them in possession of that power, under whose government they would be most advantageous to her; that nothing could tend so much to make the United States desirous of an alliance with Britain, as to exclude them from a free

* Count Montmorin was at this time Minister of Foreign Affairs.

trade with the French Colonies; that, if the metropolis wishes to preserve the affection of her distant subjects, and to derive from them the greatest commercial benefit, she ought to suffer them to draw their subsistence from that quarter where they can obtain it most cheaply. He assured me, that he was fully of my opinion; said that our position rendered it proper to make in our favor an exception from their general system respecting other nations, and that he hoped, within a fortnight, something might be done. But he lamented, as he had done before, that they have no Chief Minister, and consequently no fixed plan nor principles. I shall see him again before I depart, and also Monsieur de la Luzerne, within whose department this matter regularly lies. He is an adherent to the exclusive system, which is unfortunate.

In the National Assembly, also, there is a considerable difficulty. Among the most violent of the violent party, are some Representatives of cities on the western coasts of this kingdom, where the chief commerce is with the Islands; and those who wish for the closest union with America, do not wish to offend these gentlemen, and therefore are desirous of waving the matter at present. For my own [part], I am very desirous that the business should be put in train, at least. If successful, so much the better; but at any rate, it will give an alarm on the other side of the Channel. If either of these rival nations sets the example, the other will soon follow; and although it is not very clear, that the actings and doings of the *Assemblée Nationale* in general will long endure, yet whatever they grant to us in this particular business, those who come after them will be fearful of retracting. Under these impressions, for a long time past,

I have been endeavouring to smooth the way towards our object; and I believe in the success. I am, &c.,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Paris, 22 January, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

In another letter of this date, I have mentioned a part of yesterday's conversation with the Count de Montmorin. That part of it, which I am now to communicate, is for yourself alone. As Monsieur de Lafayette had asked me some days ago, who should be sent to replace the Comte de Moustier, and upon my answering with great indifference, that it might be whom he pleased, had asked my opinion of Colonel Ternant, I told the Count de Montmorin this circumstance; to which he replied, that he had communicated his intention to Monsieur de Lafayette some time since, in consequence of the intimacy which has long subsisted between them. I asked him, if he would permit me to mention it to you. The idea gave him pleasure, and he told me that he should consider it as a very great kindness, and particularly if through the same channel he could learn whether that appointment would be agreeable to you. This is, you know, a compliment which the most respectable Courts on this side of the Atlantic usually pay to each other. It is not without use, and on the present occasion is not a mere compliment, because Monsieur de Montmorin is sincerely desirous of cultivating a good understanding with the United States.

It is not impossible that he may retreat from his present office; but he will, I think, in that case be

appointed Governor to the children of France, and his opinions, while about the Court, will have weight, for many reasons; amongst others, because they deserve it. In talking over the deplorable situation to which this kingdom is reduced, I told him that I saw no means of establishing peace at home, but by making war abroad. He replied that he thought with me, in part; namely, that an offensive war might be useful. But that he thought a defensive war must prove ruinous; that this last seemed the more likely to happen; and that in either case the state of the finances was alarming. I observed, that ability in that department might restore it, even during a war; that nothing could revive credit without the reëstablishment of executive authority; and that nothing could effect that reëstablishment but a general sense of the necessity. Upon this, he lamented the want of a Chief Minister, who might embrace the great whole of public business. He owns himself unequal to the task, and too indolent into the bargain.

Our friend Lafayette burns with desire to be at the head of an army in Flanders, and drive the Stadtholder into a ditch. He acts now a splendid, but dangerous part. Unluckily, he has given in to measures, as to the Constitution, which he does not heartily approve, and he heartily approves many things which experience will demonstrate to be injurious. While all is in confusion here, the revolt of Austrian Flanders, and the troubles excited in Poland by the agency of Prussia, give every reason to suppose that the King of Sweden will be vigorously supported; so that provided the Turk has but a sufficient share of obstinacy to bear a little more beating, the scale, according to human probabilities, must turn against Austria and Prussia, who are the allies of France.

Great Britain is, as yet, no otherwise engaged than as an eventual party; and, according to the best opinion which my judgment can form, upon the information I have been able to obtain, the Premier of that country can, to use the words of Mr. Addison, "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm." A person, however, on whose knowledge I have some reliance, assures me that Mr. Pitt, engrossed by borough politics and ignorant of Continental affairs, takes no part in them, but what he is absolutely forced into; and I am inclined to believe that there is some truth in that assertion. Accept I pray the assurances of that sincere esteem, with which I am yours, &c.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Office, 15 February, 1790.

SIR,

The serious crisis of affairs in which the United States are involved with the Creeks, requires that every honorable and probable expedient that can be devised should be used to avert a war with that tribe. The untoward circumstances of the case are such that no degree of success could render a war either honorable or profitable to the United States.

Events may be expected soon to arise, which will interrupt the present tranquillity. The headlong passions of the young Creek warriors are too impetuous to be restrained by the feeble advice of the Chiefs, even supposing their authority exerted to that end. But, were the dispositions of the Creeks generally favorable to peace, the corrosive conduct of the lawless whites inhabiting the frontiers, may be supposed

to bring on partial quarrels. These may be easily fomented, and the flame of war suddenly lighted up, without a possibility of extinguishing it, but by the most powerful exertions.

A war with the Creeks, besides being attended with its own embarrassments, may lead to extensive and complicated evils. Part of the lower Creeks, or Seminoles, reside within the territory of Spain; and a strong connection appears to subsist between the Creeks generally and the Colonies of East and West Florida, belonging to that power. In case of a war with the Creeks, and they should be pushed to take refuge within the limits of either of the aforesaid Colonies, the United States would be reduced to a most embarrassed predicament; for they must either follow the Creeks, in order to extinguish the war, establish posts in their country, or retire. In the first case, they would seriously be embroiled with Spain; in the second, the operation would be extremely hazardous and expensive; in the third, the impression made would not be attended with permanent or adequate effects to the expense incurred by the expedition.

This subject, therefore, in every point of view in which it can be placed, has an unfavorable aspect to the interests of the United States. Acting under this impression, my mind has been anxiously employed in endeavouring to avoid, if possible, so injurious an event. In examining the proposition of the late Commissioners, to send the draught of a treaty for the Creeks to sign, and, in case of their refusal, to declare war against them, it appears as if the measure proposed would inevitably precipitate an event, which it is the interest of the United States to avoid. For, if such treaty should be transmitted to the Creeks,

with a declaration that they must receive and sign it, or war should ensue, it is highly probable that the latter event would take place, by an irruption of the Creeks long before the messenger would reach the seat of Government.

In search of expedients to avert the evils impending on this subject, I have been led into repeated conversations with the Honorable Benjamin Hawkins, Senator for North Carolina, who is well acquainted with the influential characters among the Creeks. He appears to entertain the opinion, pretty strongly, that the designs and character of Alexander McGillivray, the influential Creek Chief, are opposed to a war with the United States, and that he would, at this time, gladly embrace any rational mean that could be offered, to avoid that event. It seems probable to Mr. Hawkins, arising from former intimations of McGillivray, that he might at this time be influenced to repair to the seat of the General Government, provided that every facility and security should be offered for that purpose.

In maturely contemplating this idea of Mr. Hawkins, and confiding in his knowledge and judgment of the character alluded to, I am inclined to conclude that it is an expedient deserving experiment, and that, let its success be what it may, the result cannot fail of being honorable to the United States. For it is proposed, although the overture shall have the aspect of a private transaction, yet that it shall have so much of the collateral countenance of Government as to convince Mr. McGillivray that he may safely confide in the proposition, as it relates to his own and the other Chiefs' personal security, until their return to their own country.

I have shown Mr. Hawkins the inclosed draft of a

letter to Alexander McGillivray. It has received his approbation, and he is willing to copy and sign the same, adding thereto some circumstances relative to a former correspondence on some philosophical inquiries.

The bearer of the letter ought to be a man of real talents and judgment. Although the ostensible object of his mission should be the charge of the letter, yet the real object should be much more extensive. He should be capable of observing the effects of the proposition on the mind of McGillivray and the other Chiefs. He should be of such character and manners as to insinuate himself into their confidence; to obviate their objections to the proposition; to exhibit, in still stronger colors than the letter, the ruinous effects of a war with the Creeks. In the prosecution of his designs he should not be in a hurry, but wait with attention and patience the symptoms of compliance; confirm them in such dispositions; and be calm and firm, when opposed. And if, after all his labors and exertions, he should fail of success, he should be capable of giving a clear narrative of the means he used, and the obstacles which prevented his success. On this person's negotiation would depend much blood and treasure; and, in any event, the reputation of the United States.

The object, therefore, of the mission would require an important character, who, although not invested with any apparently dignified public commission, ought to have such private powers and compensation as would be a sufficient inducement to a performance of the intended service.

The time, which the proposed negotiation would require, might be four months, or one hundred and twenty days. If the compensation should be eight dollars a day, the amount would be nine hundred and sixty dol-

lars. The expenses would probably amount to four hundred dollars in addition. Should several of the Chiefs repair to New York, the expenses for that purpose would amount, at least, to one thousand dollars; so that the expense of one thousand three hundred and sixty dollars, at least, and perhaps two thousand three hundred and sixty, would be incurred by the proposed measure. And this sum would be independent of the probable expenses of presents, and returning the Chiefs to their own country, which would require a much larger sum. But there cannot be any doubt of the economy of the proposed application of the money herein required, when compared with the expense which must attend a war.

The proposed experiment would probably be attended with either one or the other of the following consequences.

First; that it would be successful, and thereby prevent a war. For, most probably, if Mr. McGillivray and the other influential Chiefs should embrace the measure, and repair to the seat of Government, their dispositions would be sufficiently pacific to conclude a treaty, especially as no terms, inconsistent with the principles of justice or humanity, would be imposed on them.

Secondly; in case the proposition should be unsuccessful, the fair and honorable dispositions of the United States would be highly illustrated; and, however great the evils which might afterwards result from hostilities, the Executive Government would not in any degree be responsible for them.

But, as this transaction may be liable to the most unworthy imputations, arising from some former local prejudices against Mr. Hawkins, in consequence of his services and zeal for the honor and justice of the

United States while a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, it seems fair and reasonable that his conduct, in this instance, should receive its just approbation, and be shielded from all malevolence and misrepresentation. I have the honor, therefore, humbly to submit the measure herein proposed to your consideration. If you should be pleased to approve the principal parts thereof, your direction appears to be essential on the following points.

First; your approbation of my request to Mr. Hawkins, in writing, to copy and sign the letter to Alexander McGillivray.

Secondly; an ample passport for the protection of Mr. McGillivray, and such Chiefs as shall accompany him, from the time of their entering the limits of the United States to their return to their own country.

Thirdly; a direction to me to make the necessary expenditures of money in pursuance of the plan proposed, and to appoint a suitable person to conduct the business. I have the honor to be, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient servant,
HENRY KNOX.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 17 March, 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

It is with the utmost concern that I hear my letters have not come to hand, and, while I lament the miscarriage, I hope you do not impute it to any fault on my part. In these times of troubles, it has become more difficult to know or to reach opportunities; and how this will be carried, I leave to the care of Mr. Paine, who goes to London.

Our revolution is getting on as well as it can, with a nation that has swallowed liberty at once, and is still liable to mistake licentiousness for freedom. The Assembly have more hatred to the ancient system than experience on the proper organization of a new and Constitutional Government. The Ministers are lamenting their loss of power, and afraid to use that which they have; and, as every thing has been destroyed, and not much new building is yet above ground, there is much room for critics and calumnies. To this may be added, that we still are pestered by two parties; the aristocratic, that is panting for a counter revolution, and the factious, which aims at the division of the empire, and destruction of all authority, and perhaps of the lives of the reigning branch; both of which parties are fomenting troubles.

And after I have confessed all this, my dear General, I will tell you, with the same candor, that we have made an admirable and almost incredible destruction of all abuses and prejudices; that every thing not directly useful to, or coming from, the people, has been levelled; that in the topographical, moral, political situation of France, we have made more changes in ten months than the most sanguine patriot could have imagined; that our internal troubles and anarchy are much exaggerated; and that, upon the whole, this revolution, in which nothing will be wanting but energy of government, just as it was in America, will propagate and implant liberty, and make it flourish throughout the world, while we must wait for a Convention in a few years to mend some defects, which are not now perceived by men just escaped from aristocracy and despotism.

You know that the Assembly have adjourned the West India affairs, leaving every thing in the actual

state; namely, the ports opened, as we hear they have been, to American trade. But it was impossible, circumstanced as we are, to take a definitive resolve on that matter. The ensuing Legislature will more easily determine, after they have received the demands of the Colonies, who have been invited to make them, particularly on the objects of victualling.

Give me leave, my dear General, to present you with a picture of the Bastille, just as it looked a few days after I had ordered its demolition, with the main key of the fortress of despotism. It is a tribute, which I owe as a son to my adoptive father, as an Aid-de-camp to my General, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch: Adieu, my beloved General. My most affectionate respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Present me most affectionately to George, to Hamilton, Knox, Harrison, Humphreys, and all friends. Most tenderly and respectfully,

Your most affectionate and filial friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.*

London, 7 April, 1790.

SIR,

I arrived in this city on Saturday evening, the 27th of March, and called the next morning on the Duke of Leeds, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was not at home. I therefore wrote to him a note, a

* Mr. Morris was sent to London as a private agent, to consult the British Government in regard to the articles of the treaty of peace which had not been executed, and to ascertain whether they inclined to a treaty of commerce with the United States. See Washington's Writings, Vol. X. pp. 43, 44.

copy whereof is inclosed, as also his answer, received that evening. On Monday, the 29th, I waited upon him at Whitehall, and, after the usual compliments, presented your letter, telling him that it would explain the nature of my business. Having read it, he said, with much warmth and gladness in his appearance, "I am very happy, Mr. Morris, to see this letter, and under the President's own hand. I assure you it is very much my wish to cultivate a friendly and commercial intercourse between the two countries; and more, I can answer for that of his Majesty's servants, that they are of the same opinion." "I am happy, my Lord, to find that such sentiments prevail; for we are too near neighbours not to be either good friends or dangerous enemies." "You are perfectly right, Sir; and certainly it is to be desired, as well for our mutual interests as for the peace and happiness of mankind, that we should be upon the best footing."

I assured him of our sincere disposition to be upon good terms, and then proceeded to mention those points in the treaty of peace which remained to be performed. And first, I observed that, by the Constitution of the United States, which he had certainly read, all obstacles to the recovery of British debts are removed; and that if any doubts could have remained, they are now done away by the organization of a Federal Court, which has cognizance of causes arising under the treaty. He said, he was happy to receive this information; that he had been of opinion, and had written to Mr. Adams, that the articles ought to be performed in the order in which they stood in the treaty. Not choosing to enter into any discussion of his conduct in relation to Mr. Adams, I told his Grace that I had one rule or principle for public

and private life, in conformity to which I had always entertained the idea that it would consist most with the dignity of the United States, first, to perform all their stipulations, and then to require such performance from others; and that, in effect, if each party were on mutual covenants to suspend its compliance, expecting that of the other, all treaties would be illusory. He agreed in this sentiment. Upon which I added, that the United States had now placed themselves in the situation just mentioned.

And here I took occasion to observe, that the Southern States, which had been much blamed in this country for obstructing the recovery of British debts, were not liable to all the severity of censure which had been thrown upon them; that, their negroes having been taken or seduced away, and the payment for those negroes having been stipulated by treaty, they had formed a reliance on such payment for the discharge of debts contracted with British merchants, both previously and subsequently to the war; that the suspension of this resource had occasioned a deficiency of means, so that their conduct had been dictated by an overruling necessity.

Returning then to the main business, I observed, that as we had now fully performed our part, it was proper to mention that two articles remained to be fulfilled by them, namely, that which related to the posts, and that regarding a compensation for the negroes; unless, indeed, they had sent out orders respecting the former, subsequent to the writing of your letter; and I took the liberty to consider that as a very probable circumstance. He now became a little embarrassed, and told me that he could not exactly say how that matter stood. That as to the affair of the negroes, he had long wished to have it

brought up, and to have something done, but something or other had always interfered. He then changed the conversation; but I brought it back, and he changed it again. Hence it was apparent that he could go no farther than general professions and assurances.

I then told him that there was a little circumstance, which had operated very disagreeably upon the feelings of America. Here he interrupted me. "I know what you are going to say; our not sending a Minister. I wished to send you one; but then I wished to have a man every way equal to the task, a man of abilities, and one agreeable to the people of America. But it was difficult. It is a great way off, and many object on that score." I expressed my persuasion, that this country could not want men well qualified for every office; and he again changed the conversation. Wherefore, as it was not worth while to discuss the winds and the weather, I observed that he might probably choose to consider the matter a little, and to read again the treaty, and compare it with the American Constitution. He said that he should, and wished me to leave your letter, which he would have copied, and return it to me. I did so, telling him that I should be very glad to have a speedy answer; and he promised that I should.

Thus, Sir, this matter was begun. But nine days have since elapsed, and I have heard nothing farther from the Duke of Leeds. It is true that Easter holidays have intervened, and that public business is, in general, suspended during that period. I shall give them sufficient time to show whether they are as well disposed as he has declared, and then give him a hint. Before I saw him, I communicated to the French Ambassador, in confidence, that you had direct-

ed me to call for a performance of the treaty. He told me at once that they would not give up the posts. Perhaps he may be right. I thought it best to make such communication, because the thing itself cannot remain a secret; and by mentioning it to him, we are enabled to say with truth, that, in every step relating to the treaty of peace, we have acted confidentially in regard to our ally.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

GOVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM MRS. MERCY WARREN.*

Plymouth, 1 May, 1790.

SIR,

Ambitious to avoid both the style and the sentiment of common dedications, more frequently the incense of adulation than the result of truth, I only ask the illustrious Washington to permit a lady of his acquaintance to introduce to the public, under his patronage, a small volume† written as the amusement of solitude, at a period when every active member of society was engaged either in the field or the Cabinet, to resist the strong hand of foreign domination.

The approbation of one who has united all hearts in the field of conquest, in the lap of peace, and at the head of the Government of the United States, must for a time give countenance to a writer who, claiming the honor of private friendship, hopes for this indulgence. But it must be a bold adventurer

* A sister of the eminent patriot, James Otis, and author of a "History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution," in three volumes, published in 1805.

† "Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous."

in the paths of literature, who dreams of fame in any degree commensurate with the duration of laurels reaped by a hero, who has led the armies of America to glory, victory, and independence.

This may perhaps, be an improper place to make many observations on a revolution, that may eventually shake the proud systems of European despotism. Yet you, Sir, who have borne such a distinguished and honorable part in the great conflict, till the nations, wearied with slaughter, listened to the voice of nature and Providence, and gave truce to the miseries of man,—will permit me to observe that, connected by consanguinity or friendship with many of the principal characters who asserted and defended the rights of an injured country, the mind has been naturally led to contemplate the magnitude both of the causes and the consequences of a convulsion, that has been felt from the eastern borders of the Atlantic to the western wilds.

Feeling much for the distresses of America in the dark days of her affliction, a faithful record has been kept of the most material transactions through a period that has engaged the attention both of the philosopher and the politician; and if life is spared, a just trait of the most distinguished characters, either for valor, virtue, or patriotism, or for perfidy, intrigue, inconsistency, or ingratitude, shall be faithfully transmitted to posterity, by one who unites in the general wish that you, Sir, may continue to preside in the midst of your brethren, until nature asks the aid of retirement and repose, to tranquillize the last stages of human life. I am, respected Sir, with every sentiment of esteem and friendship, the President's

Most obedient and very humble servant,

MERCY WARREN.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

London, 1 May, 1790.

SIR,

Our very good friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, has intrusted to my care the key of the Bastille, and a drawing handsomely framed, representing the demolition of that detestable prison, as a present to your Excellency, of which his letter will more particularly inform. I feel myself happy in being the person through whom the Marquis has conveyed this early trophy of the spoils of despotism, and the first ripe fruits of American principles transplanted into Europe, to his master and patron. When he mentioned to me the present he intended you, my heart leaped with joy. It is something so truly in character, that no remarks can illustrate it, and is more happily expressive of his remembrance of his American friends, than any letters can convey. That the principles of America opened the Bastille is not to be doubted; and therefore the key comes to the right place.

I beg leave to suggest to your Excellency the propriety of congratulating the King and Queen of France (for they have been our friends) and the National Assembly, on the happy example they are giving to Europe. You will see, by the King's speech, which I inclose, that he prides himself on being at the head of the revolution; and I am certain that such a congratulation will be well received, and have a good effect.

I should rejoice to be the direct bearer of the Marquis's presents to your Excellency, but I doubt I shall not be able to see my much-loved America till next spring. I shall therefore send it by some American vessel to New York. I have permitted no

drawing to be taken here, though it has been often requested, as I think there is a propriety that it should first be presented. But Mr. West wishes Mr. Trumbull to make a painting of the presentation of the key to you.

I returned from France to London, about five weeks ago; and I am engaged to return to Paris, when the Constitution shall be proclaimed, and to carry the American flag in the procession. I have not the least doubt of the final and complete success of the French Revolution. Little ebbings and flowings, for and against, the natural companions of revolutions, sometimes appear, but the full current of it is, in my opinion, as fixed as the Gulf Stream.

I have manufactured a bridge (a single arch), of one hundred and ten feet span, and five feet high from the chord of the arch. It is now on board a vessel, coming from Yorkshire to London, where it is to be erected. I see nothing yet to disappoint my hopes of its being advantageous to me. It is this only which keeps me in Europe; and happy shall I be, when I shall have it in my power to return to America. I have not heard of Mr. Jefferson since he sailed, except of his arrival. As I have always indulged the belief of having many friends in America, or rather no enemies, I have nothing else particularly to mention, but my affectionate remembrances to all; and am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most obliged and obedient, humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

P. S. If any of my friends are disposed to favor me with a letter, it will come to hand by addressing it to the care of Benjamin Vaughan, Esquire, Jeffries Square, London.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

London, 1 May, 1790.

SIR,

Herewith I have the honor to transmit a duplicate of my last letter, of the 13th of April. Not having heard from the Duke of Leeds, I wrote him a note on the 19th. To this I received no reply; wherefore, on the 29th, I addressed him again by a letter, of which a copy is inclosed. This was delivered at his office, Whitehall, between eleven and twelve in the morning of the 29th; and at half past ten in the evening the letters were sent to me. You will observe that his letter is dated the 28th, and of course takes no notice of that to which it is in fact the answer; but the style and general complexion, as well as the circumstances attending the delivery of it, clearly show that it was not written until the evening of the 29th.

I might, in reply, have made some strictures upon the information that I was in Holland, &c., &c. I might also have contrasted the expressions of good faith with the conduct of the Administration, and have observed upon the idea that the United States were bound in the most solemn manner, while, from the subsequent parts of his letter, it would seem that Great Britain is not bound at all, or at most but loosely. There is also a confusion of language, which resembles the stammering of one who endeavours to excuse a misdeed, which he resolves to commit. Thus, on the supposition that completion of the treaty by us is impossible, he insists that we shall complete it, or make compensation. The expressions in the last clause are, if possible, more vague than all the rest,

and the reply might have been proportionately more pointed.

My letter of yesterday contains nothing of what is just stated, although perhaps it ought to have noticed some parts. I must rely on your kindness, Sir, both to interpret favorably what I have done, and to excuse my omissions. I thought it best to heap coals of fire on their heads, and thereby either bring them into our views, or put them most eminently in the wrong. It was, moreover, my wish to draw forth specific propositions, because these will admit of discussion, or else, if manifestly unjust, they may not only be repelled, but they will serve to show a predetermined breach of faith by them, which will justify whatever conduct we may afterwards find it proper to adopt. If, as is not improbable, they should give us no answer, or one so vague as to mean nothing, I shall pursue, according to circumstances, my object of compelling them to speak plainly, or refuse absolutely.

It seems pretty clear, that they wish to evade a commercial treaty, but not peremptorily to reject it; and, therefore, I have construed into rejection his Grace's abstruse language, leaving him the option to give it a different interpretation. I do not expect that he will, though he may perhaps write an explanatory comment, more unintelligible than the text.

I have some reason to believe, that the present Administration intend to keep the posts and withhold payment for the negroes. If so, they will color their breach of faith by the best pretexts in their power. I incline to think, also, that they consider a treaty of commerce with America as being absolutely unnecessary, and that they are persuaded they shall derive all the benefit from our trade, without treaty.

It is true that we might lay them under restrictions in our ports; but they believe that an attempt of that sort would be considered by one part of America as calculated by the other for private emolument, and not for the general good. The merchants here look on it as almost impossible for us to do without them; and it must be acknowledged that past experience, and the present situation of neighbouring countries, go far to justify that opinion. Whether the Ministers shall act according to their own ideas, or consult mercantile people, they will equally, I think, repel advances from us; and, therefore, it seems more prudent to lay the foundations of future advantage, than attempt to grasp at present benefit. I will not pretend to suggest any measures for the adoption of Congress, whose wisdom and whose sense of national honor will certainly lead them to act properly, when the proper moment shall present itself. It will naturally strike every mind, that while the Legislature of this country continues to invest the Executive authority with great power respecting the American commerce, the Administration here will have advantages in treaty, which can only be balanced by similar confidence, on the part of Congress, in the Executive of America.

But very much will, I think, depend upon the situation of France. If appearances there should change, and so much vigor be infused into the Government as would enable it to call forth the national efforts in support of their interest and honor, a great revolution would be produced in the opinions here. From the conduct of the aristocratic hierarchy in the Low Countries, who are instigated and supported by Prussia, I have long been thoroughly convinced that the alternative of war, or the most ignominious terms of

peace, would be proposed to the Imperial Courts. Counting upon the absolute nullity of France, and supposing that this country can at any moment intimidate that into abject submission, Prussia and Poland will, I think, join themselves to Turkey and Sweden against Russia and Austria, which are both exhausted, and one of them dismembered. Probably the war will be commenced before this letter reaches your hands; and then Britain and Holland are to be the umpires, or rather dictators, of peace.

I have taken the liberty to touch thus far upon the general system of European politics, as it may tend to show that, for the present, Great Britain will rather keep things in suspense with us, being herself in a state of suspense as to others. I will not go into conjectures about the events which will take place upon the Continent. They will, I believe, as is usual, disappoint the projectors; but, be that as it may, our affairs can derive no advantages now from what shall happen hereafter. I presume that a dissolution of Parliament will take place shortly, although many of the best informed people think, or at least say they think, otherwise. But it is clear to my mind, that the Administration will wish to have before them a prospect of seven years' stability to their system, be that what it may; and they will not, at the moment of a general election, expose themselves to criticism by any act of doubtful construction. This forms with them an additional reason for being evasive in regard to us. Perhaps there never was a moment in which this country felt herself greater, and consequently it is the most unfavorable moment to obtain advantageous terms from her in any bargain. But this appearance is extremely fallacious. Their revenue is not yet equal to their ex-

penditure. Money is indeed poured in upon them from all quarters, because of the distracted situation of affairs among their neighbours; and hence their stocks have risen greatly since the peace, so that they can borrow at an interest of four per cent. But, supposing they should not be obliged to engage in the war, still there are two events, either of which would overturn the fabric of their prosperity. If France establishes a solid system of finance, then capitalists will prefer five per cent. with her to four per cent. from Britain; for, all other things being equal, there is no shadow of comparison between the resources of the two countries. If France commits a bankruptcy, the disorders consequent thereon will doubtless be violent; but, the storm once passed, she would be able to make greater exertions, by her annual resources, than Britain could compass by every possible anticipation of credit. There is a middle situation, between sinking and swimming, in which the French finances may flounder on for some time to come, but even this state of wretchedness will produce rather evil than good to Great Britain; for she has already reaped all the harvest which could be gathered from the distress of her neighbours, and must necessarily lose the benefits of the famous commercial treaty, in proportion as the resources of her customer are cut off.

Under the various contingencies which present themselves to my contemplation, and there are many which I will not trouble you with the perusal of, it appears clearly, that the favorable moment for us to treat is not yet come. It is indeed the moment for this country, and they seem determined to let it pass away. I must again entreat your indulgence, Sir, for this long and desultory letter. Accept, I pray you,

the assurances of that respect with which I have the honor to be, &c.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

Paris, 11 May, 1790.

SIR,

The desire which I have had to multiply the portrait, which Madame de Brehan has made of you, has deprived her of the original for five months, which has remained, during that time, in the hands of the engraver. Our citizens, of all denominations, are, at this day, more or less taken off from their habitual occupations; and their functions, civil or military, absorb the greater part of their time, employed in trying to establish liberty between despotism, which has been overturned, and licentiousness, which is eager to replace it.

Accept, with goodness, I pray Sir, the homage which I have the honor to make, in the accompanying proofs. Madame de Brehan will profit of the first certain opportunity which presents, to address to Madame Washington the medallion intended for her. In the mean time, she will make a copy of the original for herself.

The country, in which I dwell at this moment, ought no longer to be considered as that which I knew before I went to America. If excesses procure but rarely the happiness which they hold out, the virtuous and prudent part of the French nation ought to tremble. "Without proper men to govern, the best laws are a mere dead letter," said a sage to me, a

short time before my departure from the United States. Who, more than we, ought at this day to be convinced of it? The kingdom of France has been deeply wounded, and the remedies employed in its cure may prove fatal. I fear that many of those employed in restoring us, are not sincere, or sufficiently enlightened. There are, among the principals, men of whom I have suspended my judgment till now. We cannot sound their intentions; actions wear, frequently, different aspects. Time indicates what ought to fix opinion.

I experience a solace of the chagrins, caused by the situation of my own country, in learning the state of yours, Sir, which has the happiness of being guided by a Chief capable of giving life to the laws. No one more sincerely and feelingly interests himself than I do, in the successes of the United States, and, particularly, in yours. I avow, frankly, that I cannot conceive the possibility of maintaining the prosperity of a great empire without great means, and, consequently, without great force in the execution. It was not necessary, to be convinced of this, that I should, within two years, become a witness of two revolutions in opposite senses;—in seeing, on one side, a great Executive power created; on the other, one altogether established, overturned, and which he, who was clothed with it, offered of himself to regulate by the usage of wise laws. The want of this great and indispensable resource holds us, at this day, in an anarchy, which cannot cease but by the establishment of this legal resource, and for which I cannot see a substitute, notwithstanding the endeavours of ambitious and metaphysical men. I am, with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THE COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

London, 31 May, 1790.

SIR,

By Mr. James Morris, who sailed in the May packet, I transmitted you a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette, at the same time informing you that the Marquis had intrusted to my charge the key of the Bastille, and a drawing of that prison, as a present to your Excellency. Mr. J. Rutledge, Jr. had intended coming in the ship. Marquis de Lafayette and I had chosen that opportunity for the purpose of transmitting the present; but the ship not sailing at the time appointed, Mr. Rutledge takes his passage in the packet, and I have committed to his care those trophies of liberty, which I know it will give you pleasure to receive. The French revolution is not only complete, but triumphant; and the envious disposition of this nation is compelled to own the magnanimity with which it has been conducted.

The political hemisphere is again clouded by a dispute between England and Spain; the circumstances of which you will hear before this letter can arrive. A messenger was sent from hence the 6th instant to Madrid, with very peremptory demands, and to wait there only forty-eight hours. His return has been expected for two or three days past. I was this morning at the Marquis del Campo's; but nothing is yet arrived. Mr. Rutledge sets off at four o'clock this afternoon; but, should any news arrive before the making up the mail on Wednesday, June 2d, I will forward it to you under cover.

The views of this Court, as well as of the nation, so far as they extend to South America, are not for

the purpose of freedom, but conquest. They already talk of sending some of the young branches to reign over them, and to pay off their national debt with the produce of the mines. The bondage of those countries will, as far as I can perceive, be prolonged by what this Court has in contemplation.

My bridge is arrived, and I have engaged a place to erect it in. A little time will determine its fate; but I yet see no cause to doubt of its success, though it is very probable that a war, should it break out, will, as in all new things, prevent its progress, so far as regards profits.

In the partition, in the box which contains the key of the Bastille, I have put up half a dozen razors, manufactured from cast-steel, made at the works where the bridge was constructed, which I request you to accept as a little token from a very grateful heart. I received, about a week ago, a letter from Mr. G. Clymer. It is dated the 4th of February, but has been travelling ever since. I request you to acknowledge it for me, and that I will answer it when my bridge is erected. With much affection to all my friends, and many wishes to see them again, I am, Sir, your much

Obliged and obedient, humble servant.

THOMAS PAINE.

FROM JOSEPH MANDRILLON.*

Paris, 1 June, 1790.

GENERAL,

The letter with which your Excellency has honored

* He had formerly been in America. See an account of his various writings in the *Biographie Universelle*, Art. MANDRILLON.

me, of the 29th of August last, and which accompanied a copy of that excellent work, the "History of the Insurrection in Massachusetts," is a new favor, which I appreciate in all its extent; happy if, with the aid of your indulgence, I may be able to justify the good opinion which you have of my zeal and eternal devotion to the American cause.

With regard to Mr. Morris, the bearer of the above-mentioned letter, I have seen but few men so well instructed in the interests of his country, and in those of Europe. I regret much not to have had his acquaintance, but in the moment when I was setting out for France. Some friends have undertaken to supply my place, and to offer to the worthy American all their zeal and attachment. I have employed myself, since I have been in Paris, in translating the History of the Insurrection. I shall be ready in a couple of months, and I will hasten to send to your Excellency a copy of the translation, to which I shall give every attention to render it with fidelity.

You know, General, the fatal consequences of the invasion of the Prussian troops in Holland, and the abandonment in which France has been forced to leave us at that epoch. I have shared, in some sort, the fate of the friends of the country, by the confidence which the Government then reposed in me. Impatient to emancipate myself from the yoke under which the Hollanders bent, I determined to come to reside in Paris; in fine, to live more free, and to trace more nearly the effects of the French Revolution *in regard to us*, since we can only hope for safety from their succour. The Marquis de Lafayette, the worthy emulant and friend of your Excellency, covers himself with glory in France; and if the guardian genius of France preserves him to them, he will en-

joy the sweet satisfaction of having done that for his fellow-citizens, which your Excellency has done for America. I have the honor sometimes to see this young hero, and I should desire much to make my zeal and my services agreeable to him; but, little accustomed to ask places for myself, and maladroit in soliciting, I have energy only for others. Perhaps M. Lafayette will give me some department, when he knows that, without renouncing the interests of Holland, I may be of some utility in France. Our Dutch refugees desire, and interest themselves in it.

I propose publishing my memoirs relative to the negotiation with which I have been charged in Prussia, in which will be developed all the secret causes, which have served as the basis of the odious policy of England, Prussia, and the House of Orange. This work will proscribe me from Holland, while the present system subsists; but I would rather fulfil my task by a new sacrifice, than maintain any longer a silence from which my fellow-citizens can draw no advantage. I recommend myself, General, to the continuance of your precious esteem. I refer to the desires and motives, in my last letters; and I have the honor to say, with the most profound veneration, I am, General,

Your most humble, and most obedient servant,
JOSEPH MANDRILLON.

FROM CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

Charleston, 19 June, 1790.

DEAR SIR,

I am infinitely obliged to you, for having favored

me with introductory letters for my nephew, Mr. Horry. It will give him an opportunity of travelling with such great advantage, that every improvement he may thereby acquire, I shall always with gratitude attribute to your benevolent patronage.

We have lately ratified a new Constitution for this State. You will at once see that it is by no means perfect; but, considering the different interests in this State, it is the best we could make, and the representation is calculated to give numbers and wealth their proper influence. By it, the poor will be protected in their freedom, and the rich in their property; and it is attended with one great advantage, that might not perhaps attend a Constitution theoretically perfect; it gives general satisfaction, both to the upper and lower parts of the country, and was ratified unanimously. The Convention, before they dissolved themselves, prepared and directed an address to you. The Legislature which met last January, did not present an address; because, as the Convention was to meet in May, it was thought that an address from the Legislature could not so properly or forcibly express the sentiments and gratitude of South Carolina, as the Convention of the people.

Mr. Henry Middleton (grandson of the deceased Mr. Henry Middleton, who served with you in the first Congress, and the son of the deceased Mr. Arthur Middleton, whom you may remember in some subsequent Congresses) will have the honor of delivering you this. He is travelling through the Middle and Northern States, for his improvement, and I have desired him to take charge of this letter, that he may have an opportunity of paying his respects to you, as he passes through New York. I have the

honor to be, with great gratitude and respect, your
much obliged

And most obedient, humble servant,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

FROM JOHN PARADISE.

[Without date. Received in June, 1790.]

SIR,

I avail myself of the opportunity afforded me by my friend Count Andriani, of conveying to you an Ode, which Count Alfieri, the author of it, desired me long ago to convey to you. The rambling, and of course unsettled condition, I have been in since my return to Europe, has entirely put it out of my power to comply sooner with Count Alfieri's request; and this unpleasant condition, added to an apprehension of being troublesome, has likewise deprived me of the satisfaction of joining my most sincere congratulations with those of my fellow-citizens, on the auspicious event which has placed you, the object of our veneration, love, confidence, and gratitude, at the helm of our Government. That you may long, Sir, live to make our country prosper, is, I can assure you, the most ardent wish, not only of us Americans, but of all those Europeans also, who, sensible of the value of liberty, know how much indebted they are to the example, which the glorious cause you have so nobly defended, has given to the world, for the rapid and successful strides that are now making in a considerable part of Europe, towards the attainment of that invaluable blessing.

There is not a more popular man in France, than our gallant Marquis, your pupil; nor indeed can popularity be more justly merited. His actions are directed by the purest views, and his glory consists in doing good to mankind. May his labors, therefore, be crowned with success! Count Andriani is a nobleman from Milan, highly distinguished by every valuable endowment, and deserving of the honor of being presented to you. As he is thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of Europe, I have nothing further to say at present, than to offer my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Washington, and subscribe myself with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obliged, and

Most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN PARADISE.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 28 August, 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

What could have been my feelings, had the news of your illness reached me before I knew my beloved General, my adoptive father, was out of danger? I was struck with horror at the idea of the situation you have been in, while I, uninformed and so distant from you, was anticipating the long waited-for pleasure to hear from you, and the still more endearing prospect to visit you, and present you the tribute of a revolution, one of your first offsprings.

For God's sake, my dear General, take care of your health! Do not devote yourself so much to the Cabinet, while your habit of life has, from your young years, accustomed you to constant exercise. Your conservation is the life of your friends, the salvation of your country. It is for you a religious duty, not

to neglect what may concern your health. I beg you will let me oftener hear from you. I write when an opportunity offers; and to my great sorrow I hear my letters must have miscarried, or been detained. But, as our correspondence can have no other bounds but the opportunities to write, it was not a reason, give me leave to say, for you to miss any that may have offered; and you may easily guess what I am exposed to suffer, what would have been my situation, had I known your illness before the news of your recovery had comforted a heart so affectionately devoted to you.

This letter will be delivered by two gentlemen (one of them an artillery officer) who are going to settle on the banks of the famed Scioto. How profitable the scheme may be to them, I do not determine; but, as they personally are entitled to regard, and are much recommended to me, I beg you will honor them with your kind reception and good advices.

The proceedings of the National Assembly cannot fail being known to you. We have run or cut down every thing that was, and perhaps it was the only way to get rid of the innumerable obstacles that opposed our revolution. We afterwards have made an immense emission of resolves, constitutional, legislative, administrative; and, of the latter, a great deal too much. Happy it has been for us, that I persuaded the Assembly to begin with a declaration of rights; as, among our decrees, few may be found that are not consonant with the most perfect principles of natural rights; so that, our errors being on the popular side, and of the speculative turn, monarchical influence and practice will fit us to meet, in a few years, a second Convention; while, had we got half-way only, or taken another rule than that of nature,

it would have been impossible to conquer our difficulties, or destroy our prejudices. It is from such a motive that I have been so eager to root out, not only the reality, but even the smallest appearance, of aristocracy among us.

Now we are disturbed with revolts among the regiments; and as I am constantly attacked on both sides, by the aristocratic and factious party, I do not know to which of the two we owe these insurrections. Our safeguard against them is with the national guard. There is more than a million of armed citizens; among them patriotism reigns, and my influence with them is as great as if I had accepted the chief command. I have lately lost some of my favor with the mob, and displeased the frantic lovers of licentiousness, as I am bent on establishing a legal subordination; but the nation at large are very thankful to me for it. It is not out of the heads of the aristocrats, to make a counter revolution. Nay, they do what they can with all the crowned heads of Europe, who hate us; but I think their plans will be either abandoned or unsuccessful. I am rather more concerned with a division that rages in the popular party. The clubs of the Jacobins, and of Eighty-Nine, as it is called, have divided the friends of liberty, who accuse each other; the Jacobins being taxed with a disorderly extravagance, and Eighty-Nine with a tincture of ministerialism and ambition. I am endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation. The affair of the 6th of October will be reported in the House next week. I do not think there will be against the Duke of Orleans, and am sure there are not against Mirabeau, sufficient charges to impeach them. There is something cloudy in the present system of those two men, although they do not seem

actually connected. They are both cowards, but the prince most particularly so.

I hope our business will end with the year, at which time this so-much blackened, this ambitious dictator, your friend, will most deliciously enjoy the happiness to give up all power, all political cares, and to become a private citizen in a free monarchy, the Constitution of which, although I could not help its being defective now, will lay a foundation for the most excellent one to be made in a few years.

The people begin to be a little tired with the revolution and the Assembly; one part to be ascribed to the French temper and numberless private losses; the other part owing to the faults of the Assembly, the intrigues and the ambition of most of its leaders. But we have got wind enough to run the ship into the harbour.

I depend on my friend Short to give you political intelligence. His abilities, zeal, and the affection and esteem he enjoys, put him in a situation to give you the best information. Mr. Jefferson and myself know his worth, and can warrant it. He is a most valuable man to do American business here. My best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. I beg you to present my tenderest compliments to Hamilton, Knox, Jefferson. Be so kind as to show them my letter, as well as to Mr. Jay, to whom I also beg my affectionate compliments, and to all friends.

Adieu, my dear General. Madame de Lafayette and family join in affectionate respects to you and Mrs. Washington. Most tenderly and respectfully I have the honor to be,

My beloved General, your devoted friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.*

28 August, 1790.

I am so deeply impressed with the magnitude of the dangers which will attend our Government, if Louisiana and the Floridas be added to the British empire, that, in my opinion, we ought to make ourselves parties in the general war expected to take place, should this be the only means of preventing the calamity. But I think we should defer this step as long as possible; because war is full of chances, which may relieve us from the necessity of interfering; and if necessary, still the later we interfere, the better we shall be prepared.

It is often, indeed, more easy to prevent the capture of a place than to retake it. Should it be so in the case in question, the difference between the

* This letter, and the one which follows it from Mr. Adams, were written in reply to the following queries proposed by the President.

"Provided the dispute between Great Britain and Spain should come to the decision of arms, from a variety of circumstances (individually unimportant and inconclusive, but very much the reverse when compared and combined) there is no doubt, in my mind, that New Orleans and the Spanish posts above it, on the Mississippi, will be among the first attempts of the former, and that the reduction of them will be undertaken by a combined operation from Detroit.

"The consequences of having so formidable and enterprising a people as the British on both our flanks and rear, with their navy in front, as they respect our western settlements, which may be seduced thereby, as they regard the security of the Union, and its commerce with the West Indies, are too obvious to need enumeration.

"What, then, should be the answer of the Executive of the United States to Lord Dorchester, in case he should apply for permission to march troops through the territory of the said States, from Detroit to the Mississippi?

"What notice ought to be taken of the measure if it should be undertaken without leave, which is the most probable proceeding of the two?"

two operations of preventing and retaking, will not be so costly as two, three, or four years more of war. So that I am for preserving neutrality as long, and entering into the war as late, as possible.

If this be the best course, it decides, in a good degree, what should be our conduct, if the British ask leave to march troops through our territory, or march them without leave. It is well enough agreed, in the law of nations, that for a neutral power to give or refuse permission to the troops of either belligerent party to pass through their territory, is no breach of neutrality, provided the same refusal or permission be extended to the other party. If we give leave of passage, then, to the British troops, Spain will have no just cause of complaint against us, provided we extend the same leave to her, when demanded. If we refuse (as indeed we have a right to do), and the troops should pass notwithstanding, of which there can be little doubt, we shall stand committed. For either we must enter immediately into the war, or pocket an acknowledged insult in the face of the world; and one insult pocketed, soon produces another.

There is, indeed, a middle course, which I should be inclined to prefer; that is, to avoid giving any answer. They will proceed notwithstanding; but, to do this under our silence, will admit of palliation, and produce apologies from military necessity, and will leave us free to pass it over without dishonor, or to make it a handle of quarrel hereafter, if we should have use for it as such. But, if we are obliged to give an answer, I think the occasion not such as should induce us to hazard that answer which might commit us to the war at so early a stage of it; and therefore, that the passage should be permitted.

If they should pass without having asked leave, I should be for expressing our dissatisfaction to the British Court, and keeping alive an altercation on the subject, till events should decide whether it is most expedient to accept their apologies, or profit of the aggression as a cause of war.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM JOHN ADAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT.

New York, 29 August, 1790.

SIR,

That New Orleans and the Spanish posts on the Mississippi will be among the first attempts of the English, in case of a war with Spain, appears very probable; and that a combined operation from Detroit would be convenient to that end, cannot be doubted. The consequences on the western settlements, on the commerce with the West Indies, and on the general security and tranquillity of the American Confederation, of having them in our rear and on both our flanks, with their navy in front, are very obvious.

The interest of the United States duly weighed, and their duty conscientiously considered, point out to them, in the case of such a war, a neutrality, as long as it may be practicable. The people of these States would not willingly support a war, and the present Government has not strength to command, nor enough of the general confidence of the nation to draw, the men or money necessary, until the grounds, causes, and necessity of it should become generally known and universally approved. A pacific character, in opposition to a warlike temper, a spirit of

conquest, or a disposition to military enterprise, is of great importance to us to preserve, in Europe; and therefore we should not engage, even in defensive war, until the necessity of it should become apparent, or, at least, until we have it in our power to make it manifest in Europe as well as at home.

In order to preserve an honest neutrality, or even the reputation of a disposition to it, the United States must avoid, as much as possible, every real wrong, and even every appearance of injury to either party. To grant to Lord Dorchester, in case he should request it, permission to march troops through the territory of the United States, from Detroit to the Mississippi, would not only have an appearance, offensive to the Spaniards, of partiality to the English, but would be a real injury to Spain. The answer, therefore, to his Lordship, should be a refusal, in terms clear and decided, but guarded and dignified; in a manner which no person has more at command than the President of the United States.

If a measure so daring, offensive, and hostile, as the march of troops through our territory, to attack a friend, should be hazarded by the English, without leave, or especially after a refusal, it is not so easy to answer the question, what notice ought to be taken of it.

The situation of our country is not like that of most of the nations in Europe. They have, generally, large numbers of inhabitants in narrow territories. We have small numbers, scattered over vast regions. The country through which the Britons must pass, from Detroit to the Mississippi, is, I suppose, so thinly inhabited, and at such a distance from all the populous settlements, that it would be impossible for the President of the United States to collect militia or march

troops sufficient to resist the enterprise. After the step shall have been taken, there are but two ways for us to proceed; one is war, and the other, negotiation. Spain would probably remonstrate to the President of the United States; but whether she should or not, the President of the United States should remonstrate to the King of Great Britain. It would not be expected, I suppose, by our friends or enemies, that the United States should declare war at once. Nations are not obliged to declare war for every injury, or even hostility. A tacit acquiescence, under such an outrage, would be misinterpreted on all hands; by Spain, as inimical to her, and by Britain, as the effect of weakness, disunion, and pusillanimity. Negotiation, then, is the only other alternative.

Negotiation, in the present state of things, is attended with peculiar difficulties. As the King of Great Britain twice proposed to the United States an exchange of Ministers, once through Mr. Hartley, and once through the Duke of Dorset, and when the United States agreed to the proposition, flew from it; to send a Minister again to St. James's, till that Court explicitly promises to send one to America, is a humiliation to which the United States ought never to submit. A remonstrance, from Sovereign to Sovereign, cannot be sent but by an Ambassador of some order or other; from Minister of State to Minister of State, it might be transmitted in many other ways. A remonstrance, in the form of a letter from the American Minister of State to the Duke of Leeds, or whoever may be Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, might be transmitted through an Envoy, Minister Plenipotentiary, or Ambassador of the President of the United States at Paris, Madrid, or the Hague, and through the British

Ambassador at either of those Courts. The utmost length that can be now gone, with dignity, would be to send a Minister to the Court of London, with instructions to present his credentials, demand an audience, make his remonstrance; but to make no establishment, and demand his audience of leave, and quit the kingdom in one, two, or three months, if a Minister of equal degree were not appointed, and actually sent, to the President of the United States from the King of Great Britain.

It is a misfortune that, in these critical moments and circumstances, the United States have not a Minister of large views, mature age, information, and judgment, and strict integrity, at the Courts of France, Spain, London, and the Hague. Early and authentic intelligence from those Courts may be of more importance than the expense; but, as the Representatives of the people, as well as of the Legislatures, are of a different opinion, they have made a very scanty provision for but a part of such a system. As it is, God knows where the men are to be found who are qualified for such missions, and would undertake them. By an experience of ten years, which made me too unhappy at the time to be ever forgotten, I know that every artifice which can deceive, every temptation which can operate on hope or fear, ambition or avarice, pride or vanity, the love of society, pleasure, or amusement, will be employed to divert and warp them from the true line of their duty, and the impartial honor and interest of their country.

To the superior lights and information derived from office, the more serene temper and profound judgment of the President of the United States, these crude and hasty thoughts concerning the points proposed,

are humbly submitted, with every sentiment of respect and sincere attachment, by his

Most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

FROM THOMAS MARSHALL.

Woodford County, 11 September, 1790.

SIR,

I have taken the liberty to inclose to you a Kentucky paper, wherein is published an extract from one of Mr. Brown's letters respecting the Spanish business. My reason for doing this is, that you may judge how far it confirms a representation I formerly had the honor to make to you on that subject. The part I then publicly took in this affair, has entirely excluded me from any knowledge of his subsequent communications to his confidential friends.

You will discover, by the paper I send you, to what lengths matters have been carried. Every thing relative to this matter, on the part of Mr. Brown, has, by his friends and coadjutors, been denied or concealed, which has produced a necessity for the inclosed publication. I shall only take the liberty of adding, that a great majority of the people of this district appear to be well disposed to the Government of the United States, though they have, through the influence and industry of his confidential friends, again elected Mr. Brown to Congress; and that our official and influential characters having taken the oath to support the General Government, together with the position the Continental troops have taken, in my opinion leaves us little to fear, at present, from the machinations of any Spanish party.

That God may bless and preserve you, and that the United States may long continue to enjoy the happiness of your government and protection, is the most fervent prayer of one, who has the honor to be, with the most respectful esteem and sincerity,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

THOMAS MARSHALL.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

New York, 17 October, 1790.

SIR,

I had the honor of receiving your letter of the 10th instant, by the last post. It is certainly very possible, that motives different from the one avowed, may have produced a certain communication; and in matters of such a nature, it is not only allowable, but the dictate of prudence, to receive suggestions with peculiar caution.

A British packet arrived yesterday. The accounts she brings are all of a warlike aspect. I have extracted from an English paper the inclosed decree of the National Assembly of France, which, though of a qualified tenor, looks pretty directly towards the eventual supporting of Spain. The English papers hold it up as a decisive indication of a disposition to do so. And it is said, in some of the letters which have been received, that positive orders have been sent to Lord Howe to fight, if he can find an opportunity. The papers announce a second fleet of fifteen sail of the line, ready to rendezvous at Portsmouth, to be under the command of Admiral Hood; their destination unknown. It is also mentioned, that the Dutch fleet had returned to the Texel, the Duke of

Leeds having previously made a journey for an interview with the Dutch Admiral. This very mysterious circumstance is wholly unexplained.

A certain gentleman, who called on me to-day, informed me that a packet had sailed the 16th of August for Quebec, in which went passenger General Clarke. He added, that the rumor in England was, that Sir Guy Carleton was to return in her. He made no other communication.

The inclosed letter came to hand this day. I have had no opportunity of making any inquiry concerning the person recommended in it. If I can obtain any additional lights, they shall be made known without delay. The object suggested in your letter, as preparatory to the meeting of the Legislature, shall engage my particular attention. The papers of the Departments of State and the Treasury, and of the Commissioners for settling Accounts, are on their way to Philadelphia. On the 20th, I propose, with my family, to set out for the same place. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and truest attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM DAVID HUMPHREYS.

(Secret.)

Lisbon, 30 November, 1790.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I have forwarded to Mr. Jefferson, for your information, the continuation of my proceedings until the present time. You will be pleased to observe, by my letter to him of this date, that the Court of Lisbon,

having, from a desire of opening an official intercourse with the United States, made the first advances, by appointing a Minister Resident to repair thither, now finds it an unpleasant and difficult task to tread back the steps it has thus, as an elder nation, taken in respect to us. It would doubtless be desirable to meet those advances, if it may be done without impropriety.

I do not know what particular reasons exist on the part of the Government of the United States (except those which relate to expenses), that might induce it to decline making an appointment, which would be so satisfactory to this Court. There seems to be considerable force in what the Chevalier de Pinto has alleged, with the intent to obviate the embarrassments, on account of the pecuniary provision. The proper and necessary expenses of a *Chargé des Affaires* will, I believe, be pretty nearly the same in every respect, with those of a Minister Resident. Should I have the honor of being nominated in the latter quality, in return for the Chevalier de Freire, by the best inquiries I have been able to make, I think, as a single man, I may establish a household, and, with good economy, live decently, in such a manner as not to discredit myself or my nation, for the salary annexed to the office of *Chargé des Affaires*. If, therefore, a change of the name should take place, I should expect it to be with a restriction to the salary of a *Chargé des Affaires*. In case of appointment to either grade, according to permission of the act of Congress, I suppose, however, a sum not exceeding (nor less than) a year's salary will be granted to the person so appointed, for the purchase of furniture, &c. Mr. Jefferson well remembers what inconveniences resulted to him, from the want of such a provi-

sion for outfits, and how indispensably necessary it will be, under all circumstances, at the beginning. Here the difference between hiring a house furnished, or unfurnished, is much greater than in France. The rent of a good house, unfurnished, but beautifully situated, in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, is very reasonable.

I would not have troubled you with these details, trifling in themselves, though, under certain circumstances, they may be somewhat interesting to me, had not the Minister of her Most Faithful Majesty seemed so much attached to the idea of continuing the appointment of Minister Resident to his friend, the Chevalier de Freire, that I am induced to imagine a refusal, on our part, to make an exchange in that grade, would not only prevent that gentleman from going to America at all, but perhaps any arrangement for the exchange of diplomatic characters, for the present. This Court having recalled its Ambassador from Rome, to succeed the Chevalier de Freire at London, this last-mentioned gentleman must be entirely thrown out of employment, until some vacancy shall happen; and the Court may have to encounter either the real or pretended difficulty of not being able to find a character, suitable and willing to fill the office of a *Chargé des Affaires* in the United States. A similar real or pretended difficulty, you may recollect, has long existed in the British Cabinet.

I only beg leave farther to suggest, in case an appointment of any nature whatsoever should be made by the Executive of America to this Court, whether it would not be a good opportunity for you, as Chief Magistrate of the United States, to write a short letter to the Queen, in your own hand (to be presented at the first audience, with the public cre-

dentials), expressive of your sense of the friendly dispositions her Majesty has manifested towards the United States, especially in the orders given for the Portuguese fleets to afford any succour to American vessels, and to protect them from the Algerine corsairs. This singular instance of attention, which has, in fact, been very useful to our Mediterranean trade, seems to merit, on our part, some particular notice. The Queen would probably be much flattered by your likewise taking occasion to express a desire of cultivating the amity and commerce, which so happily subsist between the two nations, and which (being founded upon principles of mutual advantage, without any interfering claims or discordant interests) promise to be of long and beneficial continuance. With every sentiment of affection and respect,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DAVID HUMPHREYS.*

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Philadelphia, 31 December, 1790.

SIR,

I have this moment received and read your very obliging letter of this date, expressing your entire approbation of my conduct in the conference, which, by your orders, I have lately held with the Seneca Indians. This explicit and pointed approbation of my proceedings, is the more grateful, because they were my first

* The nomination of Colonel Humphreys, as Minister Resident, from the United States to Portugal, was confirmed by the Senate, on the 21st of February, 1791. *Executive Journal*, Vol. I. p. 75. At the time the above letter was written, Colonel Humphreys was acting as a private agent, under the authority of the President.

essay; for, till then, I was an utter stranger to the manners of Indians, and to the proper mode of treating with them. But, Sir, I have found that they are not difficult to please. A man must be destitute of humanity, of honesty, or of common sense, who should send them away disgusted. He must want sensibility, if he did not sympathize with them, on their recital of the injuries they have experienced from white men. Impressed, therefore, with such sentiments, the honorable manner in which you have manifested your approbation of my conduct in this business, is more than I expected, though, next to the approbation of my own mind, nothing could have given me more satisfaction.

With sincere respect, I am, Sir, &c.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Philadelphia, 15 January, 1791.

SIR,

I intended to have done myself the honor of waiting on you in person; but a letter may give you less trouble.

General Knox informed me, that it would be agreeable to you that I should undertake the Superintendency of the northern Indians; I mean particularly the Six Nations. I answered that, by the new Constitution of Pennsylvania, a Continental appointment was declared to be incompatible with the appointments I held under the State; and I supposed the nature of such superintendency would not warrant any considerable emolument. In a subsequent conversation, I intimated a willingness to perform the

necessary services respecting the Six Nations, without any formal appointment; but this idea seemed not to have been approved.

Afterwards I found that all the Indians, north of the Ohio, were already arranged under one department, of which General St. Clair was the Superintendent, who, with your permission, might appoint a Deputy. General Knox seemed to wish that the matter might be suspended until the arrival of General St. Clair, who was daily expected. Since that time I have reflected on the subject, and, upon the whole, would beg leave to decline taking the Superintendency proposed, though not without expressing the real pleasure I feel in the favorable sentiments you entertain concerning me, and assuring you of my readiness to perform any occasional services in that line, which your wishes for the public good may require.

Permit me, Sir, to add a few words relative to the subject of the last letter I had the honor to write to you. Before I wrote, two circumstances made me hesitate. One, lest it should be thought that I, like many projectors, was contriving an employment for myself; the other, lest, if such a plan should be approved and established, I should in fact be requested to undertake the execution of it, to which request sentiments of humanity and regard to the public good might urge me to yield, while other views, and the feelings of my family, might be strongly opposed to it. My opinion, however, of the utility, as well as of the practicability, of the plan proposed for introducing the arts of husbandry and civilization among the Indians, remains the same. It was an opinion not hastily formed. But, lest a partiality for a project of my own should mislead my judgment, I sub-

mitted it to the examination of two or three gentlemen of discernment; and it received their approbation, before I would venture to give you the trouble of reading a long letter about it.

Although, Sir, I have declined the proposed permanent agency in Indian affairs, I have not withdrawn my views from public life, but should cheerfully engage in it, whenever an opening for useful employment, more beneficial than the offices I hold under the State, shall present. Two of these offices are now rendered certain, by recent reappointments, somewhat unexpectedly made. But they are all of too little value for me to depend on during the rest of my life. Whenever, therefore, any suitable employment shall offer, I shall feel myself peculiarly obliged by your remembrance of me.

With the most sincere respect, I am, Sir, &c.,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 7 March, 1791.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

Whatever expectations I had conceived of a speedy termination to our revolutionary troubles, I still am tossed about in the ocean of factions and commotions of every kind. For it is my fate to be on each side with equal animosity attacked, both by the aristocratic, slavish, parliamentary, clerical,—in a word, by all enemies to my free and levelling doctrine; and, on the other side, by the Orleanist factions, antiroyal, licentious, and pillaging parties of every kind; so that my personal escape from amidst so many hostile bands is rather dubious, although our great and good

revolution is, thank Heaven, not only insured in France, but on the point of visiting other parts of the world, provided the restoration of public order is soon obtained in this country, where the good people have been better taught how to overthrow despotism than they can understand how to submit to the law. To you, my dear General, the Patriarch and Generalissimo of universal liberty, I shall render exact accounts of the conduct of your Deputy and Aid in that great cause.

You will hear that the National Assembly have permitted the cultivation of tobacco throughout the kingdom, as it was already established in the frontier Provinces, to which they have been induced on three accounts. First, because they thought a prohibition inconsistent with the principles of the bill of rights; secondly, because the removal of the excise barriers to the extremity of the empire, made it necessary to have a general rule; thirdly, because the departments formerly called Alsace and Flanders, being greatly contaminated by a foreign and aristocratic influence, there was no doubt of the impending attack of the rebel Princes, Condé and Artois, taking place, and being countenanced even by the country farming people, had we cut them off from that branch of cultivation all of a sudden.

But what is greatly exceptionable, is a duty fixed on the introduction of American tobacco, with a premium in favor of the French vessels, and a duty much too high, although it was lately lessened, on American whale oil. But I beg you, and all citizens of the United States, not to be discouraged by that hasty and ill-combined measure, which I hope, before long, to see rectified, in consequence of a report of the Diplomatic Committee, including the whole at

once, and for which my friends and myself have kept our arguments. I shall send you the report, the debate, and the resolve. Should we obtain an easy introduction of American tobacco, no cultivation of any importance can take place in France, and it will be the better for both countries.

M. de Ternant has been named Plenipotentiary Minister to the United States. I have warmly wished for it, because I know his abilities, his love for liberty, his early, steady and active attachment to the United States, his veneration and love for you. The more I have known Ternant, the more I have found him a man of great parts, a steady, virtuous, and faithful friend. He has deserved a great share in the confidence of the National Assembly; the patriot side, I mean. The King has a true regard for him. In a word, I hope he will, on every account, answer your purposes, and serve America as zealously in the diplomatic line, as he did when in the army.

Adieu, my beloved General. My best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me most affectionately to Hamilton, Jefferson, Knox, Jay, and all friends. Madame de Lafayette and children beg their tender respects being joined to mine for you and the family. Most respectfully and tenderly, I am, my dear General,

Your filial friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 27 March, 1791.

SIR,

I have been again to see Mr. Barclay on the sub-

ject of his mission;* and, to hasten him, I communicated to him the draught of his instructions, and he made an observation which may render a small change expedient. You know it had been concluded that he should go without any defined character, in order to save expense. He observed that, if his character was undefined, they would consider him as an Ambassador, and expect proportional liberalities; and he thought it best to fix his character to that of Consul, which was the lowest that could be employed. Thinking there is weight in his opinion, I have the honor to inclose you a blank commission for him as Consul, and another letter to the Emperor, no otherwise different from that you signed, but as having a clause of credence in it. If you approve of this change, you will be so good as to sign these papers and return them; otherwise the letter before signed will still suffice.

I inclose you a Massachusetts paper, whereby you will see that some acts of force have taken place on our eastern boundary. Probably that State will send us authentic information of them. The want of an accurate map of the Bay of Passamaquoddy renders it difficult to form a satisfactory opinion on the point in contest. I write to-day to Rufus Putnam to send me his survey, referred to in his letter. There is a report that some acts of force have taken place on the northern boundary of New York, and are now under consideration of the Government of that State.

The impossibility of bringing the Court of London to an adjustment of any difference whatever, renders our situation perplexing. Should any applications

* Mission as Consul to Morocco. Mr. Barclay had been an agent for negotiating a treaty between the United States and Morocco in 1786. See Washington's Writings, Vol. X. pp. 60, 144.

from the States, or their citizens, be so urgent as to require something to be said before your return, my opinion would be, that they should be desired to make no new settlements on our part, nor suffer any to be made on the part of the British within the disputed territory; and if any attempts should be made to remove them from the settlements already made, that they are to repel force by force, and ask aid of the neighbouring militia to do this, and no more. I see no other safe way of forcing the British Government to come forward themselves and demand an amicable settlement. If this idea meets your approbation, it may prevent a misconstruction by the British of what may happen, should I have this idea suggested in a proper manner to Colonel Beckwith.

The experiments, which have been tried, of distilling sea-water with Isaac's mixture, and also without it, have been rather in favor of the distillation without any mixture.

A bill was yesterday ordered to be brought into the House of Representatives here for granting a sum of money for building a Federal Hall, House for the President, &c.

You knew of Mr. Robert Morris's purchase of Gorham and Phelps of one million, three hundred thousand acres of land of the State of Massachusetts, at five pence an acre. It is said that he has sold one million, two hundred thousand of these in Europe, through the agency of Mr. Franklin, who, it seems, went on this business conjointly with that of printing of his grandfather's works. Mr. Morris, under the name of Ogden, and perhaps in partnership with him, has bought the residue of the lands held in the same country by Massachusetts, for . The Indian

title of the former purchase has been extinguished by Gorham, but that of the latter is not; perhaps it cannot be. In that case, a similarity of interest will produce an alliance with the Yazoo Companies. Perhaps a sale may be made in Europe to purchasers ignorant of the Indian right.

I shall be happy to hear that no accident has happened to you in the bad roads you have passed, and that you are better prepared for those to come by lowering the hang of your carriage, and exchanging the coachman for two postilions; circumstances which, I confess to you, appeared to me essential for your safety, for which no one on earth more sincerely prays, both from public and private regard, than he who has the honor to be,

With sentiments of the most profound respect,

Sir, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Department, 10 April, 1791.

SIR,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your separate letter of the 4th instant, and also of your joint letter of the same date, to the heads of the departments. By the information from Fort Harmar, of the 17th, and Pittsburg, of the 31st, it would appear that the Delawares and Wyandots are committing depredations, and that they will be joined in the war against us. But, what is still more disagreeable, it is to be apprehended that the Senecas, mainly, may be in the same predicament. For a party of Munsey or Delaware Indians, who reside upon the

waters of the Alleghany, towards Lake Erie, on the 21st ultimo, murdered nine men, women, and children, within twenty miles of Fort Pitt, on the west side of the Alleghany.

This was on the day the Cornplanter set out from Fort Pitt. The inhabitants were so blindly enraged, as to suspect the Cornplanter and his party, and agitated plans to cut him off. Had they proceeded and succeeded, it would have completed the business, and the war would indisputably have become general. Lieutenant Jeffers, of the federal troops, accompanied Cornplanter, and would probably have shared his fate.

Every exertion must be made to prevent the Six Nations from joining the western Indians. The post at French Creek must be strengthened, and perhaps a party sent to protect the Cornplanter's settlements from the fury of the whites. Affairs being so critical with the Six Nations, I have judged it advisable to assemble them as soon as possible, in order to brighten the chain of friendship, and to prevent all jealousies. I have accordingly desired Colonel Pickering, who may be depended upon, to invite them to a meeting, at some convenient place, at an early day, and that, in the mean time, he should repair to this city for particular orders. I shall lay this subject before the Vice-President, and the other heads of departments to-morrow, for their approbation.

The recruiting service proceeds well. I judge we have about three hundred regulars and levies enlisted in different places, to Connecticut, inclusively. One company of levies, well clothed, will march from Carlisle about the 25th, and the rest as fast as recruited. The marching of the regulars will commence by companies, I hope by the 1st of May, and follow in succession as fast as recruited. Present appearances

indicate that the main force will be collected by the 15th of July, as originally designed.

Brigadier-General Butler was directed to have set off for Maryland on the 6th; but he has delayed it until this day. But, as the Virginia and Maryland levies will not have far to march, I hope they will be on the frontiers by the 15th or 20th of June. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your obedient, humble servant,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 10 April, 1791.

SIR,

I have duly received the private letter which you did me the honor to write me, of the 4th instant.

It is to be lamented that our system is such as still to leave the public peace of the Union at the mercy of each State Government. This is not only the case as it regards direct interferences, but as it regards the inability of the National Government, in many particulars, to take those direct measures for carrying into execution its views and engagements, which exigencies require. For example, a party comes from a county of Virginia into Pennsylvania, and wantonly murders some friendly Indians. The National Government, instead of having power to apprehend the murderers and bring them to justice, is obliged to make a representation to that of Pennsylvania; that of Pennsylvania, again, is to make a requisition of that of Virginia. And whether the murderers shall be brought to justice at all, must depend upon the particular policy, and energy, and good dis-

position of two State Governments, and the efficacy of the provisions of their respective laws. And the security of other States, and the money of all, are at the discretion of one. These things require a remedy; but when it will come, God knows.

From present appearances, a pretty general Indian war is not a little to be apprehended. But there is now nothing for it, but to encounter it with vigor; and thus far in my department the provisions are adequate. I have the honor to remain, with the truest and most respectful attachment, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

(Translation.)

Berlin, 26 April, 1791.

SIR,

I received but yesterday, the letter with which you honored me on the 6th of November last. Its date recalled to my mind the place where I had the satisfaction of paying my first homage to you. That interesting period of my life will always be recollected with the same sensibility.

The country life, which you know, Sir, how to render as useful to your citizens by your example, as agreeable to yourself, is well worthy of engaging as much of your time as you can give it. I have learnt, with very great satisfaction, the influence which it has had on your health. It is there that the relaxation of the mind, and the exercise of the body, dispel those evils which are occasioned by the restraint of living in a city, and which are peculiarly unfavor-

able to those, who are constantly occupied in the painful cares of Government.

The success, which attends your cares, Sir, in the administration of the United States, is a flattering recompense for those labors which you have so long devoted to your country. So well am I convinced of the wisdom and virtue of the American Congress, that I never fail to present it as a model for my fellow-citizens. If you have ever read the preface, placed at the beginning of a translation which I solicited, of the American Laws, digested by order of Congress in 1789, you would there have seen my opinion. I am the author of those reflections, which I have developed on more than one occasion. Minds which incline to extremes in my country, are not yet disposed to receive them. Instead of the energy, which results from a public force well organized, we see that violence reign, which results from a force placed without its centre. The end has been missed. I, however, love to flatter myself that it will return. They have exaggerated the evils which they suffered, and have employed, in consequence thereof, remedies excessively violent, and in no manner suited to the disorder which they had to handle. I hope those who are firm, have a desire to retrace their steps, which requires more courage and talents than to go straight forward. Any sacrifice, even that of self-love, ought to be accounted as nothing, by a good citizen; and if they claim that Kings should make an avowal of their errors, why should simple citizens claim to persevere in theirs?

I did not attach myself to any party during my stay in France. I flattered no idol of the moment, because I had never flattered any heretofore. I love my country with ardor. For a long time, I have de-

voted myself to her. I lamented the abuse of the former Government; I lament that they have not made the one which follows it better. I wait until they renounce those chimeras, and descend from the regions of perfection, which do not belong to the human condition. I confine myself to fulfilling, in my sphere, the duties which are allotted me. Our nation deserves to be happy. The crime of leading her away from happiness is great, in proportion as it is easy to conduct her to it. The tissue of a false glory, enthusiasm for the perfection of government, cupidity, vengeance, and hatred, are not good ingredients for forming the chiefs of a Revolution. It was good perhaps to demolish; but it is rare that a demolition is suitable when the passions dispel the judgment. I have seen you, Sir, grieve at a Henry. How many Henrys have we in France!

In whatever situation I may be, I shall not cease to prove the lively interest which I take in the prosperity of the United States; and I shall always regard it as a mark of good fortune, to have been in a situation to admire you, and to give testimonies of the veneration which is due to your virtues and to your eminent qualities.

I am, with respect, Sir, &c.,
COUNT DE MOUSTIER.

FROM MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 3 May, 1791.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I wish it was in my power to give you an assurance, that our troubles are at an end, and our Constitution totally established. But, although dark clouds

are still before us, we come so far as to foresee the moment when a Legislative corps will succeed this Convention; and unless foreign powers interfere, I hope that within four months your friend will have reassumed the life of a private and quiet citizen.

The rage of parties, even among the patriots, is gone as far as it is possible, short of bloodshed; but, although hatreds are far from subsiding, matters do not appear so ill disposed as they formerly were towards a collision among the supporters of the popular cause. I myself am exposed to the envy and attacks of all parties, for this simple reason, that, whoever acts or means wrong, finds me an insuperable obstacle; and there appears a kind of phenomenon in my situation; all parties against me, and a national popularity which, in spite of every effort, has been unshakable. A proof of this I had lately, when disobeyed by the guard, and unsupported by the administrative powers who had sent me, unnoticed by the National Assembly, who had taken fright. The King I do not mention, as he could do but little in the affair, and yet the little he did was against me. Given up to all the madness of license, faction, and popular rage, I stood alone in defence of the law, and turned the tide up into the Constitutional channel.

I hope this lesson will serve my country, and help towards establishing the principles of good order. But, before I could bring my fellow-citizens to a sense of legal subordination, I must have conducted them through the fear to lose the man they love. Inclosed is the speech I delivered on the occasion. I send it, not for any merit of it, but on account of the great effect it had on the minds of the people, and the discipline of an army of five-and-forty thousand men; upward of thirty [thousand] of them are volunteers;

and who, to a man, are exposed to all the suggestions of a dozen of parties, and the corruptions of all kinds of pleasure and allurements.

The Committee of Revision is going to distinguish, in our immense materials, every article that deserves to be constitutional; and as I hope to convene, in a tolerable state of union, the members of that Committee, as their votes will in the House influence the popular part of the Assembly, I hope that, besides the restoration of all natural rights, the destruction of all abuses, we may present to the nation some very good institutions of government, and organize it so as to ensure to the people the principal consequences and enjoyments of a free Constitution, leaving the remainder to the Legislative corps to mend into well digested bills, and waiting until experience has fitted us for a more enlightened and less agitated National Convention.

In the mean while, our principles of liberty and equality are invading all Europe, and popular revolutions preparing everywhere. Should foreign powers employ this summer with attacks against our Constitution, there will be great bloodshed; but our liberty cannot fail us. We have done every thing for the general class of the country people; and, in case the cities were frightened into submission, yet the peasants would swarm round us and fight to death, rather than give up their rights.

Adieu, my beloved General. My best respects wait on Mrs. Washington. Remember me to Hamilton, Jay, Jefferson, Knox, and all friends. Most respectfully and affectionately I am, my dear General,

Your filial friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Bennington, 5 June, 1791.

SIR,

In my last letter from Philadelphia, I mentioned that Mr. Madison and myself were about to take a trip up the North River, as far as circumstances should permit. The levelness of the roads led us quite on to Lake George, where, taking boat, we went through that, and about twenty-five miles into Lake Champlain. Returning then to Saratoga, we concluded to cross over through Vermont to Connecticut River, and go down that instead of the North River, which we had already seen; and we are so far on that route. In the course of our journey we have had opportunities of visiting Stillwater, Saratoga, Forts William Henry and George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the scene of General Stark's victory.

I have availed myself of such opportunities as occurred, to inquire into the grounds of the report that something disagreeable had taken place in the vicinities of the British posts. It seems to have been the following incident. They had held a small post at a block-house on the North Hero, an island on the Vermont side of Lake Champlain, and something further south than their principal post at the Point-au-Fer. The *Maria*, hitherto stationed at the latter for custom-house purposes, was sent to the block-house, and there exercised her usual visits on boats passing to and from Canada. This, being an exercise of power further within our jurisdiction, became the subject of notice and clamor with our citizens in that quarter. The vessel has been since recalled to the Point-au-Fer; and, being unfit for service, a new one is to be

built to perform her functions. This she has usually done at the Point-au-Fer with a good deal of rigor, bringing all vessels to at that place, and sometimes under such circumstances of wind and weather as to have occasioned the loss of two vessels and cargoes. These circumstances produce strong sensations in that quarter, and not friendly to the character of our Government. The establishment of a custom-house at Alburg, nearly opposite to Point-au-Fer, has given the British considerable alarm. A groundless story of two hundred Americans, seen in arms near Point-au-Fer, has been the cause, or the pretext, of their reënforcing that place a few days ago with a company of men from St. John's. It is said here, they have called in their guard from the block-house; but the information is not direct enough to command entire belief.

On inquiring into the dispositions in Canada, on the subject of the projected form of Government there, we learn that they are divided into two parties; the English, who desire something like an English Constitution, but so modelled as to oblige the French to choose a certain proportion of English Representatives; and the French, who wish a continuance of the French laws, moderated by some ingraftments from the English Code. The Judge of their Common Pleas heads the former party; and Smith, the Chief Justice, secretly guides the latter.

We encounter the Green Mountains to-morrow, with cavalry in part disabled, so as to render our prospects a little uncertain. I presume, however, I shall be in Philadelphia in a fortnight. I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect and attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Paris, 6 June, 1791.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

I most heartily thank you for your letter, dated March the 19th; the more welcome to me, as I had long lamented your silence, and was panting for news from you, wherein I could be informed of every thing respecting your public and private concerns. I rejoice and glory in the happy situation of American affairs. I bless the restoration of your health, and wish I could congratulate you on your side of the Atlantic.

But we are not in that state of tranquillity, which may admit of my absence;—the refugees hovering about the frontiers; intrigues in most of the despotic and aristocratic Cabinets; our regular army divided into Tory officers and undisciplined soldiers; licentiousness among the people not easily repressed; the capital, that gives the *ton* to the empire, tossed about by antirevolutionary or factious parties; the Assembly fatigued by hard labor, and very unmanageable. However, according to the popular motto, *ça ira*, it will do. We are introducing, as fast as we can, religious liberty.

The Assembly has put an end to her existence by a new convocation; has unfitted her own members for immediate reëlection and places in the Executive; and is now reducing the Constitution to a few principal articles, leaving to the Legislative Assemblies to examine and mend the others, and preparing every thing for a Convention, as soon as our machine will have had a fair trial. I stand the continual check to all

interior factions and plots. By the inclosed speech of mine, and the giving up my commission, I gave a spring to the power of law over licentiousness; and was I equally supported in repressing it, as I should be against aristocratic exertions, the people could soon be brought to a proper sense of liberty. As to the surrounding Governments, they hate our revolution, but do not know how to meddle with it, so afraid they are to *catch the plague*. We are going to take measures to discipline the army, both officers and soldiers. They will prepare to encamp and leave the cities. They will have the same power as in time of war. M. de Condé and his party will be summoned to explain themselves, and, if they continue caballing and enlisting, declared traitors. To M. de Ternant I refer for more particulars.

Mr. Jefferson and myself had long thought that Ternant was a very proper man to act as French Minister in America. He in great measure belongs to both countries. He is sensible, honest, well-informed, and has a plain and decisive way of doing business, which will be very convenient. He has long been an officer under your command, feeling and acting in an American capacity. He is personally much attached to you; and I had, in this revolution, many instances to experience his friendship to me. He might have been a Minister in the Council, but was rather backward on the occasion, and behaved as a prudent, not an ambitious man. So that I take him to be fit to answer your purpose. He will let you know what has passed in the Assembly respecting American affairs.

The last transactions are an undoubted proof of their sentiments, and show that the *faux pas*, in the regulation of duties, is to be attributed to the want

of knowledge or sense, not of friendship. They have considered me as an American, who did only mind American profit, and did not know matters so well as a few mercantile men, most of them on the aristocratic side of the House, who presented foolish calculations; and you know the difficulties to unmake our decrees. But you may depend on this point, that brotherly measures to unite the two nations with the ties of most intimate affection, of common principles and common interest, will be most heartily received in France; and on that ground you may work your plan, and send it to France, with a private copy for me. The United States and France must be one people, and so begin the confederation of all nations who will assert their own rights.

I have, in the affair of the black free men, acted according to my conscience, not to policy. Should the British look for advantage of honesty, I hope you will influence the Colonies to submit to a decree so conformable to justice.

Mr. Short, who does the business of the United States with all the zeal and ingenuity of a most patriotic and most sensible man, who is respected and loved in France in a manner equally useful to the public and honorable to himself, has written to Mr. Jefferson respecting New Orleans. France will do every thing in her power to bring Spain to reason; but will have a difficult and probably unsuccessful task. Upon the whole, that navigation we must have; and, in case the people of Louisiana wish to make a fifteenth State, who can help it? and who ought, Spaniards excepted, not to rejoice at it? For my part, certainly, I should not be a mourner.

My best respects to Mrs. Washington. My compliments to the family; to my dear Aid, George, and

his family. Most respectfully and affectionately, my beloved General,

Your filial friend,

LAFAYETTE.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Department, 8 June, 1791.

SIR,

Colonel Procter has just arrived in this city by the way of Fort Pitt. He was unable to go forward to the western Indians without an escort of the Six Nations. He would have obtained such an escort, after counselling with them at Buffalo Creek, from the 23d of April until the 15th of May; but the Indians could not proceed either in canoes along the Lake, or by land, but required a vessel. He applied to Colonel Gordon, Commanding Officer at Niagara, for a vessel, either public or private, for which he would pay; but he could not obtain one. The design, therefore, of inviting the hostile Indians to peace, previously to striking them, has been frustrated.

Brant, with thirty warriors, having Girty and McKee with him, set out from Grand River to the western Indians about the 11th of May. The Senecas say, his design is peace; that he will return in June to the treaty at the Painted Post, and the others go forward to oblige the western Indians to peace.

The Cornplanter continues his attachment to the United States; but he is exceedingly suspected by Brant's people, who are in an opposite interest. The Six Nations are for peace. Colonel Procter transmitted from Fort Pitt a full account of his proceedings to General St. Clair. He will, therefore, be no longer

in doubt about pushing forward the Kentucky expedition. Colonel Procter has not made a written report yet, but he will do it soon. I have thought it proper to submit the substance of his mission to you. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM THOMAS PAINE.

London, 21 July, 1791.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favor of last August, by Colonel Humphreys; since which I have not written to or heard from you. I mention this that you may know no letters have miscarried.

I took the liberty of addressing my late work, "Rights of Man," to you; but though I left it, at that time, to find its way to you, I now request your acceptance of fifty copies, as a token of remembrance to yourself and my friends. The work has had a run beyond any thing that has been published in this country on the subject of government; and the demand continues. In Ireland it has had a much greater. A letter I received from Dublin, 10th of May, mentioned that the fourth edition was then on sale. I know not what number of copies were printed at each edition, except the second, which was ten thousand. The same fate follows me here, as I *at first* experienced in America, — strong friends and violent enemies; but, as I have got the ear of the country, I shall go on, and at least show them, what is a novelty here, that there can be a person beyond the reach of corruption.

I arrived here from France about ten days ago. M. de Lafayette was well. The affairs of that country are verging to a new crisis,—whether the Government shall be monarchical and hereditary, or wholly representative. I think the latter opinion will very generally prevail in the end. On this question the people are much forwarder than the National Assembly.

After the establishment of the American Revolution, it did not appear to me that any object could arise, great enough to engage me a second time. I began to feel myself happy in being quiet. But I now experience that principle is not confined to time or place, and that the ardor of Seventy-six is capable of renewing itself. I have another work in hand, which I intend shall be my last; for I long much to return to America.

It is not natural that fame should wish for a rival. But the case is otherwise with me; for I do most sincerely wish there was some person in this country that could usefully and successfully attract the public attention, and leave me with a satisfied mind, to the enjoyment of quiet life. But it is painful to see errors and abuses, and sit down a senseless spectator. Of this, your own mind will interpret mine.

I have printed sixteen thousand copies. When the whole are gone, of which there remain between three and four thousand, I shall then make a cheap edition, just sufficient to bring in the price of the printing and paper, as I did by "Common Sense."

Mr. Green, who will present you this, has been very much my friend. I wanted, last October, to draw for fifty pounds on General Lewis Morris, who has some money of mine; but as he is unknown in the commercial line, and American credit not very

good, and my own expended, I could not succeed, especially as Gouverneur Morris was then in Holland. Colonel Humphreys went with me to your agent, Mr. Walsh, to whom I stated the case, and took the liberty of saying, that I knew you would not think it a trouble to receive it of General Morris, on Mr. Walsh's account. But he declined it. Mr. Green afterwards supplied me, and I have since repaid him. He has a troublesome affair on his hands here, and is in danger of losing thirty or forty thousand pounds, embarked under the flag of the United States, in East India property. The persons who have received it, withhold it, and shelter themselves under some law contrivance. He wishes to state the case to Congress, not only on his own account, but as a matter that may be nationally interesting.

The public papers will inform you of the riots and tumults at Birmingham, and of some disturbances at Paris; and, as Mr. Green can detail them to you more particularly than I can do in a letter, I leave those matters to his information. I am, Sir, with affectionate concern for your happiness and Mrs. Washington's, &c.,

THOMAS PAINE.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Department, 22 September, 1791.

SIR,

The Minister of France has written me a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy.* As this crisis of affairs

* The following is the letter from the French Minister, here alluded to.

“Philadelphia, 21 September, 1791.

“SIR,

“The distressed and very alarming situation in which I learn the

is of the highest importance to the essential interests of France, and as it appears a singular opportunity for the United States to manifest their zeal to repay, in some degree, the assistance afforded us during the perilous struggles of the late war, I have assured him of every aid in my department which shall be authorized by you. Accordingly, I have instantly despatched an express to receive your orders on the occasion.

The articles, which are in readiness, are requested, and may be spared from the Arsenal of West Point, without any detriment to the public service, excepting the cartridge-boxes, which are much damaged, but which, however, might answer in this exigency. In order, therefore, to save time, I have despatched a person to West Point, to have the arms and stores prepared for sea transportation, and forwarded to New York; but, to wait your orders for the final delivery.

As the aid requested for the exigent service of a nation, with which the United States are in close alliance, and from which they received the most

French settlements of Hispaniola have just been reduced by an insurrection of negroes, that threatens the most fatal consequences, obliges me to forward immediately to that Island a supply of muskets, cartridges, and powder, which the Government appears to be in the most pressing want of. As these objects can be better and more speedily obtained from the Federal Arsenal of West Point, I have to request, as a signal service, that you will give immediate orders for sending to New York, and delivering to M. de la Forest, one thousand muskets complete, one thousand cartridge-boxes, fifty thousand cartridges to suit the muskets, and about twenty thousand weight of musket powder. Those objects may either be returned in nature, or accounted for in a future settlement of accounts between our nations, as the President of the United States may choose to determine.

"I hope the extreme urgency of the case, and the interest I am convinced you take in the welfare of my nation, will induce you to grant my request, which I am going to lay immediately before the President of the United States.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

"TERNANT."

eminent support during the late war, and being for the purpose of quelling an internal rebellion, no foreign nation can take umbrage at the measure. As it can be afforded without impediment or injury to the public service, and, as all the stores in the arsenals are under your direction, as President of the United States and Commander-in-chief, I feel but little hesitation in submitting, as my opinion, that the circumstances of the case render it highly proper to afford the supplies requested, and that your authority is competent to the occasion.

I am, Sir, with the highest respect, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 22 September, 1791.

SIR,

I have received a letter from the Minister of France, of which the inclosed is a copy. Having full authority from you in relation to payments to France, and there being funds out of which that which will constitute the succour requested may with propriety be made, and being fully persuaded that, in so urgent and calamitous a case, you will be pleased with a ready acquiescence in what is desired, I have not hesitated to answer the Minister that the sum he asks is at his command.*

* The French Minister had written to the Secretary of the Treasury, that the distressed condition of the inhabitants of the French colony of Hispaniola made it necessary for him to forward, without delay, large supplies of provisions for their relief; and he requested that he might be enabled "to draw on the Federal Treasury to an amount not exceeding forty thousand dollars, to be accounted for in any future reimbursements of the United States to France."

With the most perfect respect and truest attachment, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 7 November, 1791.

SIR,

I have duly considered the letter you were pleased to refer to me, of the 18th of August, from his Excellency Governor Pinckney, to yourself, together with the draught of one proposed to be written by him to the Governor of Florida, claiming the redelivery of certain fugitives from justice, who have been received in that country. The inconveniences of such a receptacle for debtors and malefactors, in the neighbourhood of the Southern States, are obvious and great; and I wish the remedy were as certain and short as the letter seems to suppose.

The delivery of fugitives from one country to another, as practised by several nations, is in consequence of Conventions settled between them, defining precisely the cases wherein such deliveries shall take place. I know that such Conventions exist between France and Spain, France and Sardinia, France and Germany, France and the Netherlands, between the several sovereigns constituting the Germanic body, and, I believe, very generally between the coterminous states on the Continent of Europe. England has no such Convention with any nation, and their laws have given no power to their Executive to surrender fugitives of any description. They are accord-

ingly constantly refused; and hence England has been the asylum of the Paolis, the La Mottes, the Calonnes, in short, of the most atrocious offenders as well as the most innocent victims, who have been able to get there.

The laws of the United States, like those of England, receive every fugitive, and no authority has been given to our Executives to deliver them up. In the case of Longchamp, a subject of France, a formal demand was made by the Minister of France, and was refused. He had, indeed, committed an offence within the United States; but he was not demanded as a criminal, but as a subject.

The French Government has shown great anxiety to have such a Convention with the United States as might authorize them to demand their subjects coming here. They got a clause in the Consular Convention, signed by Dr. Franklin and the Count de Vergennes, giving their Consuls a right to take and send back Captains of vessels, mariners, and *passengers*. Congress saw the extent of the word *passengers*, and refused to ratify the Convention. A new one was therefore formed, omitting that word. In fact, however desirable it be that the perpetrators of crimes, acknowledged to be such by all mankind, should be delivered up to punishment, yet it is extremely difficult to draw the line between those and acts rendered criminal by tyrannical laws only. Hence the first step always is a Convention defining the cases where a surrender shall take place.

If, then, the United States could not deliver up to Governor Quesada, a fugitive from the laws of his Government, we cannot claim, as a right, the delivery of fugitives from us; and it is worthy consideration, whether the demand proposed to be made in Go-

vernor Pinckney's letter, should it be complied with by the other party, might not commit us disagreeably, perhaps dishonorably, in the event. For I do not think we can take for granted, that the Legislature of the United States will establish a Convention for the mutual delivery of fugitives; and, without a reasonable certainty that they will, I think we ought not to give Governor Quesada any grounds to expect that, in a similar case, we would redeliver fugitives from his Government.

I have the honor to be, &c.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM JAMES WILSON.*

Philadelphia, 31 December, 1791.

SIR,

By the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, I am empowered to "digest into proper order and form, the laws of that Commonwealth," and "report such alterations, additions, and improvements, as the principles and forms of the Constitution may require." In this work I have made some progress; during which it has occurred to me, that a similar work, with regard to the laws of the United States, might, with propriety, accompany that in which I am engaged.

To you it is unnecessary to make any general remarks concerning the immense importance of a good code of municipal law. There are two circumstances which induce me to think that, to the United States, this subject is peculiarly interesting.

* One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.

1. Their Government is newly formed and organized. A good system of legislation introduced into it now, will have a salutary, a decisive, and a permanent influence upon its future fortunes and character. Good principles, at least principles congenial to those of the Constitution, should be laid betimes, as the foundation of subsequent regulations.

2. It is of much moment, that those principles be established and ascertained, in complete and correct theory, before they are called forth into practical operation. The most intricate and the most delicate questions in our national jurisprudence will arise, in running the line between the authority of the National Government and that of the several States. A controversy, which happens between two individuals, is considered and determined with coolness and impartiality, like a question of law. A controversy, happening between the United States and any particular State in the Union, will be viewed and agitated with bias and passion, like a question of politics. For this reason, the principles and rules, on which it must be determined, should be clearly and explicitly known before it arises.

To the happy achievement of such a revolution as that of the United States, the foregoing observations are applicable with a force uncommonly striking and powerful. I have intimated my opinion that a digest of the laws of the United States might, with propriety, accompany that of the laws of Pennsylvania. This opinion is grounded on the following reasons.

1. In the latter digest, the difficult and delicate line of authority, which I have mentioned, must be run; and the country lying on the side of the Commonwealth, must be explored and delineated. Can there be a fitter occasion for exploring and delineat-

ing the country, which lies on the side of the United States? To explore and delineate the country on both sides is, perhaps, the best mode of discovering and ascertaining with accuracy the different directions which this line ought to take. From one employed to do the business on both sides, impartiality, as well as accuracy, might be reasonably expected.

2. There is a peculiar propriety in running the line between the Government of the United States and that of Pennsylvania. Since the establishment of the Constitution of the United States, that of Pennsylvania has been made. With an express and avowed reference to the Constitution of the United States, that of Pennsylvania has been sedulously framed. It is probable, therefore, that the directions which the line above mentioned ought to take, may be traced with a satisfactory degree of clearness, as well as of precision; and that neither vacancies nor interferences will be found, between the limits of the two jurisdictions. For it is material to observe, that both jurisdictions together compose, or ought to compose, only one uniform and comprehensive system of Government and laws.

In what follows, I must speak concerning myself. I shall speak with freedom and with candor. I speak to a friend, as well as to a judge. If you think that, at a proper time, it ought to be recommended by you to the National Legislature, or the two Houses which compose it, to authorize one to prepare for their consideration, such a digest as I have mentioned, I declare my willingness, nay, my desire, to undertake it. I know that I am unequal to the task; I know that, in performing it, I should not be able to attain even that degree of excellence, of which I myself can form an idea.

My offer proceeds from the following considerations. In the formation of both Constitutions, that of the United States, and that of Pennsylvania, I took a faithful and an assiduous part. So far, therefore, as my abilities can reach, I may be supposed to know their principles and their connection, and the various relations and dependencies, which their principles and connection ought to produce in the different parts of Legislation. In the study and in the practice, too, of law and systematic politics, I have been engaged for a time considerably long, and on a scale considerably extensive. I am already employed in executing one part of the great plan. If I can command a tolerable share of success in that part, I can command an equal share in the other also. Nay, I believe that both parts can be executed together, better than either part can be executed separately. Permit me farther to suggest, that my deficiencies in point of abilities would, in some degree, be compensated by the ardor of my inclination to acquit myself as well as possible in a trust so honorable and so important. This ardor, believe me, would be greatly increased, as well as gratified, by executing this important and honorable trust under your auspices, and during your administration; from which every thing connected with them will receive and reflect a lustre.

With sentiments of the most perfect esteem and attachment, I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.,

JAMES WILSON.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH.

Philadelphia, 21 January, 1792.

SIR,

By the papers, which I have now the honor of re-

turning to you, a wish seems to be expressed that the President should recommend to Congress a digest of federal law, the appointment of one person only to such a service, and the selection of the author of those papers for that work.

Whether, at a future day, when Congress shall appear to have neglected or slumbered over the subject, it may be expedient to rekindle their attention by a special recommendation, I pretend not to foresee. But, at present, it may be affirmed, that the House of Representatives possess, in the four last paragraphs of the notes to the Report on the Judicial System, an unequivocal suggestion of this very point. I therefore take the liberty of referring you to them.

The suggestion, indeed, having come from a quarter which affects no title to the deference of that body, would undoubtedly be enforced by the solicitude of the Executive. But I have greatly erred, if I do not discover one characteristic of its conduct to be, not to throw any weight of personal or official character into measures, when no crisis demands it. If, then, the judicial system shall ever be revised, a federal code will stand prominent to view. If the judicial system shall not be revised, the federal code itself, as speaking more feebly to the particular interests and feelings of the House, can hardly expect to be more kindly treated. In the midst of the agitations, which have been or will be produced by deliberations on the war, the excise, the fisheries, the manufactures, the trade with Great Britain, the regulations of a mint, the militia, and many other topics of an animating cast, it will probably be asked, what peculiar and immediate urgency has the President remarked for inviting Congress to this abstract inquiry? Is there any danger of the two branches of the Le-

gislature forgetting it, if it be important? Especially as it is their direct duty to originate proposals for establishing or amending any system of laws.

If, with a recommendation to this effect, another should be united, that a single person should execute the work, some uncommon sensations of surprise may be created. To qualify that single person, he ought to be accurately versed in the legislation and jurisprudence of every State. Nay, I am not certain that he ought not to know the very prejudices of each State. For it will not be enough to draw a line of partition between the Federal and State Governments, without having some regard to the temper of the latter. The necessary information can be contributed only by a number of able men, differently situated in the United States. These men can be found, and perhaps their reluctance may be overcome, and they may be induced to divide the Herculean task among them. But, even with a division of the responsibility, they ought to be diffident.

Should it, however, be thought advisable, that the project should be now favored by a special communication from the President, and that a single person should be preferred, I certainly shall add nothing concerning any gentleman who may be so happy as to enjoy the highly-valuable endowments requisite for the fulfilment of the trust. But may it not be seriously apprehended, that the employment of a Judge in such a business, will excite a jealousy among those of his associates, who will not acknowledge their inferiority? Will it not warp him in all his decisions to those interpretations which he may have given of the Constitution? May he not rather lean in his judgments more to what he recollects to have been his intention in drawing a law, than obey the settled

rules of construction? And who can say, let him be a Judge or what he will, that the glossary or comment, which he alone shall furnish, may not, insensibly, and contrary to his own honest mind, be tinged with party views?

Upon the whole, although I believe that the digest will sooner or later be attempted, yet am I sure that the Legislature will not cordially patronize it, until its necessity shall be more obvious. I intended to have waited on you personally with this letter; but having been detained in Court during the whole week, I was unable to do so.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with a sincere, and affectionate attachment and respect, &c.,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 4 February, 1792.

SIR,

The late appointment of a Minister Resident to the Hague has brought under consideration the condition of Mr. Dumas, and the question whether he is or is not at present in the service of the United States.

Mr. Dumas, very early in the war, was employed, first by Dr. Franklin, afterwards by Mr. Adams, to transact the affairs of the United States in Holland. Congress never passed any express vote of confirmation, but they opened a direct correspondence with Mr. Dumas; sent him orders to be executed; confirmed and augmented his salary; made that augmentation retrospective; directed him to take up his residence in their Hotel at the Hague; and passed

such other votes, from time to time, as established him, *de facto*, their Agent at the Hague.

On the change, on the organization of our Government in 1789, no commission nor new appointment took place with respect to him, though it did in most other cases; yet the correspondence with him from the Office of Foreign Affairs has been continued, and he has regularly received his salary. A doubt has been suggested, whether this be legal. I have myself no doubt but that it is legal. I consider the source of authority with us to be the nation. Their will, declared through its proper organ, is valid till revoked by their will, declared through its proper organ also. Between 1776 and 1789 the proper organ for pronouncing their will, whether Legislative or Executive, was a Congress formed in a particular manner. Since 1789 it is a Congress, formed in a different manner, for laws, and a President, elected in a particular way, for making appointments and doing other Executive acts. The laws and appointments of the ancient Congress were as valid and permanent in their nature as the laws of the new Congress, or appointments of the new Executive; these laws and appointments, in both cases, deriving equally their source from the will of the nation. And when a question arises whether any particular law or appointment is still in force, we are to examine, not whether it was pronounced by the ancient or present organ, but whether it has been at any time revoked by the authority of the nation, expressed by the organ competent at the time.

The nation, by the act of their Federal Convention, established some new principles, and some new organization of the Government. This was a valid declaration of their will, and, *ipso facto*, revoked some

laws before passed, and discontinued some offices and officers before appointed. Wherever, by this instrument, an old office was superseded by a new one, a new appointment became necessary; but where the new Constitution did not demolish an office, either expressly or virtually, nor the President remove the officer, both the office and officer remained. This was the case with several. In many of them, indeed, an excess of caution dictated the superaddition of a new appointment; but where there was no such superaddition, as in the instance of Mr. Dumas, both the office and officer still remained; for the will of the nation, validly pronounced by the proper organ of the day, had constituted him their Agent, and that will has not, through any of its successive organs, revoked his appointment. I think, therefore, there is no room to doubt its continuance, and that the receipt of salary by him has been lawful.

However, I would not wish to take on myself alone the decision of a question so important, whether considered in a legal or Constitutional view; and therefore submit to you, Sir, whether it is not a proper question whereon to take the opinion of the Attorney-General.

Another question then arises; ought Mr. Dumas to be discontinued? I am of opinion, he ought not. First, not at this time; because Mr. Short's mission to Madrid will occasion an immediate vacancy at the Hague again; and because, by the time that will be over, his appointment at the Hague must be discontinued altogether, unless Congress should enlarge the foreign fund. Secondly, not at any time; because when, after the peace, Mr. Dumas's agency became of less importance, Congress, under various views of his sacrifices and services, manifested that their con-

tinuance of him was in consideration of these, and of his advanced years and infirm state, which render it impossible for him to launch into a new line of gaining a livelihood; and they thought the continuance of a moderate competence to him for moderate services was more honorable to the United States than to abandon him, in the face of Europe, after and under such circumstances.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most profound respect and attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 7 February, 1792.

SIR,

An account, presented to me by Mr. John B. Cutting, for expenditures incurred by him in liberating the seamen of the United States in British ports, during the impressments which took place under that Government in the year 1790, obliges me to recall some former transactions to your mind.

You will be pleased to recollect the numerous instances of complaint or information to us, about that time, of the violence committed on our seafaring citizens in British ports by their pressgangs and officers; and that, not having even a Consul there at that time, it was thought fortunate that a private citizen, who happened to be on the spot, stepped forward for their protection; that it was obvious that these exertions on his part must be attended with expense, and that a particular demand of fifty pounds sterling for this purpose, coming incidentally to my

knowledge, it was immediately remitted to Mr. Cutting, with a request to account for it in convenient time. He now presents an account of all his expenditures in this business, which I have the honor to communicate herewith.

According to this, the oppression extends to a much greater number of our citizens, and their relief is more costly, than had been contemplated. It will be necessary to lay the account before the Legislature, because the expenditures being of a description which had not occurred before, no appropriation heretofore made would authorize payment at the Treasury; because, too, the nature of the transactions may, in some instances, require justly that the ordinary rules of evidence, which the Auditor is bound to apply in ordinary cases, should suffer relaxations, which he probably will not think himself authorized to admit, without the orders of the Legislature.

The practice in Great Britain of impressing seamen, whenever war is apprehended, will fall more heavily on ours than on those of any other foreign nation, on account of the sameness of language. Our Minister at that Court, therefore, will, on these occasions, be under the necessity of interfering for their protection in a way which will call for expense. It is desirable that these expenses should be reduced to certain rules, as far as the nature of the case will admit; and the sooner they are so reduced, the better. This may be done, however, on surer grounds, after the Government of Great Britain shall have entered with us into those arrangements on this particular subject, which the seriousness of the case calls for on our part, and its difficulty may admit on theirs. This done, it will be desirable that legislative rules be framed, which may equally guide and justify the pro-

ceedings of our Minister, or other agent at that Court, and at the same time extend to our seafaring citizens the protection of which they have so much need.

Mr. Cutting, being on the spot, will himself furnish the explanations and documents of his case, either to the Legislature, or a Committee of it, or to the Auditor, as he shall be required.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

Senate Chamber, 10 February, 1792.

SIR,

Prompted by the free and candid manner you expressed yourself in political affairs to me some days past, I shall, without reserve, communicate to you the reasons which induced me yesterday to vote for striking out the second section in the bill which I inclose to you. That I may be understood throughout, I must take a retrospect on Indian affairs for some years back. During the war, we acknowledged the Indians as brothers; told them of our difficulties and embarrassments, arising from our contest with Great Britain; assured them of our disposition, though unable, to furnish them such comforts as they had been accustomed to receive; urged them to be patient; and declared that, when success crowned our efforts, they should be partakers of our good fortune. They were then acknowledged to be possessors of the soil on which they lived.

At the close of the war, being anxiously desirous of paying to our officers and soldiers as much of their well-earned dues, as was apparently within the

view of the Government, we seem to have forgotten altogether the rights of the Indians. They were treated as tenants at will. We seized on their lands, and made a division of the same, as possessing allodial right; allotted certain portions to the Indians for hunting grounds; and did not even think of offering them compensation for any claims they might pretend to have to those reserved for other purposes of the Government.

This doctrine, it might be expected, would be disliked by the independent tribes. It was so, and was complained of by them. It is the source of their hostility. However, we persevered in this doctrine till the treaty at Fort Harmar, in 1788. At that period, the Government pursued different measures. The boundaries were recognized and established by a principle of *purchase*. Some of the now hostile Indians complained of the conduct of their brethren in ceding their lands. These complaints reached the Government, and Governor St. Clair was ordered to remedy the defects in some future treaty. But they would not attend to his invitation, and assigned, as a reason, that he only wanted a relinquishment of their claims to their lands, and that they were unwilling to part with them. It was natural to expect, that, as from our conduct they conceived themselves deprived of what they deemed most precious, they would be in a state of hostility against us, and the more so, as the British in Canada were ready enough to misrepresent all our conduct, to furnish them with military stores, and for some purposes, arising from State or commercial jealousy, to encourage them.

I read, at the last session of Congress, the painful detail of Harmar's expedition, and the measures proposed by the Secretary at War to retrieve the honor

of our military reputation, and to restore peace. I acquiesced in the measures proposed, not because I thought them right, but because I was told that you approved of them, and that they would give efficacy to some pacific plans you had in contemplation. General Knox told the Committee of the Senate that the President had it in view to bring about a peace by other means than coercive. General Schuyler and some others declared they would converse freely with you, and could point out how peace could be obtained without the further effusion of blood. Since this, I know of no efforts made by the Executive to induce the Indians to come to an accommodation previously to the last defeat, except that of Gamelin, which was a feeble one, that of Procter, the Cornplanter, and one other, which failed from unforeseen difficulties.

I thought, and still think, the means of communicating with them are abundant. At St. Vincent's, at Kaskaskia, and even in Canada, there are French, the favorites of these people, and friendly to us. While we contemplate the going into their country, we may bid adieu to peace. Their attachment to their native soil is such, that they will part with it but with their lives. The Miami may be convenient to us, but ruin to them to part with it. They may be circumscribed, for aught I know, with the western Indians and Canada, as the Six Nations are by their neighbours, and have no place of their own to retreat to.

I shall make no remark on the defeat of the 4th of November. You are a military judge. I will only offer as my opinion that the Indians did not, nor cannot, exceed twelve hundred effective warriors. As soon as the military arrangements were before the Senate, I determined to examine more accurately than

formerly what was proper for me to do. I applied to the Secretary at War for information on two points; first, whether the plan sent in was the result of your opinion, or of that of the War Office; and, secondly, whether, if it was committed, and the Committee applied for your opinion, it was likely you would give it. I understood his reply to the first to be, that it was the result of his reflections submitted to you, and by you to Congress. And as to the second, he thought you would not like to give an opinion. I then determined to exercise my own. I have a great respect for the War Officer, but he appears to me to be anxiously desirous of having a considerable standing military force. All his views, in my estimation, tend to that end. He is not alone in that opinion. We have some in the Senate, who say that such an establishment is necessary, nay more, indispensable to the preservation of liberty. To a disposition of this sort, I attribute the feeble efforts made to purchase a peace. Those at the head of affairs to the westward, were for war; all who are dependent on the department, are for war; this is their harvest; and the Indians are, to this moment, wholly unacquainted with the real disposition of our Government.

From the best view of our situation, to my understanding, I am for completing the present establishment, adding the cavalry mentioned in the bill, and making adequate provision for such effective militia as may be called out, and enabling the Executive to employ such Indians as are friendly to us, and willing to aid us. The present establishment and cavalry, brought all of them for the occasion to a point, aided by suitable militia and the friendly Indians, under an officer of activity, will accomplish every wish I have on the subject, which, I confess, are not many. I am

for peace; I am for the establishment of posts, not in their country, but in our own. As long as we attempt to go into their country, or to remain there, we shall be at war. Our finances are unequal to the expensive establishments contemplated by some. We can, with the force mentioned, gain by victory or purchase, a peace. We should be to blame to run any further risk of being insulted by the British. If they will not give up the posts, they will not quietly suffer an establishment in the neighbourhood of them. We are unable to take them; and it is, thus circumstanced, better for us to be passive for the present.

I beg you to be persuaded, Sir, that, although I write thus freely to you, it is to you only; and that I hold it unbecoming in myself to write or speak any thing, that may lessen the respect due to the Government and every officer of it. I have the honor to be, most respectfully, Sir, &c.,

BENJAMIN HAWKINS.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Department, 28 July, 1792.

SIR,

Since the letter I had the honor of transmitting the 21st instant, I have received a letter from Governor Blount, dated the 4th instant. A meeting of the Cherokees, at Estanaula, had taken place, which lasted from the 24th of June to the 1st of July, at which the Little Turkey and many other Chiefs were present; but the Bloody Fellow, and John Watts, whom the Governor, in his former letter, styled "the champions for peace," were absent. But most of the others who composed the delegation were present.

The dispositions manifested were friendly. A number of Chiefs were selected to protect the boats, which were to pass down the Tennessee with the goods designed for the Conference to be held with the Chickasaws and Choctaws, at Nashville. But the Little Turkey expressed considerable dissatisfaction at the line towards Cumberland, alleging it to be the hunting grounds of the Four Nations, to wit, the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. It is to be observed that this man is the most influential Chief of the Cherokees, and that he was neither at the treaty of Hopewell, in 1785, nor Holstein, in 1791. I have had some doubts, whether that part of the line was agreeable to the opinion of the Cherokees generally; and it really appears to me that something will yet be to be arranged on that subject.

Some Indians, supposed to be Creeks, have committed several murders at Nashville, and have wounded General Robertson and his son. The Governor has had discretionary power to call forth such portions of militia as he should judge expedient for the protection of the exposed parts of his Government, and he has, at different periods, actually called for five companies of militia, most of which are now in service. The Governor expected the Chickasaws and Choctaws to meet him, at Nashville, about the 25th instant. The goods for the Conference at Nashville left Holstein, under the charge of Mr. Allison, the 3d instant, under a proper escort, besides the Indian Chiefs before mentioned. The Governor and General Pickens were to set out for Nashville on the 5th instant, to cross Cumberland Mountains, escorted by some horse, which he called out for the occasion.

The Governor has transmitted the affidavits of two men, recently from the Creek country, tending to

prove the interference of the Spanish Agent to prevent the Creeks from running the line; and also of some parties of Creeks making depredations on the Cumberland settlements. It would seem the Creeks consider the Cumberland settlers as intruders on the joint lands of the Four Nations, and therefore they have a right to steal horses, and, in case of opposition, to kill. It is to be hoped the Governor may devise some measures to prevent the progress of those depredations, which lead to a general confusion and war with the Creeks and Cherokees. I shall write him by the way of Fort Pitt.

No information yet of Colonel Hardin or Major Trueman. General Wayne, on the 20th, gives information of some recent depredations by small parties in Ohio county. About three hundred and twenty effectives of his troops had arrived. The information of recruits, since the last return, is agreeable to the within. The desertions of the troops, on the march, are excessive. Out of about three hundred and fifty, nearly fifty deserted from Reading to Fort Pitt.

General St. Clair has returned from the western parts of this State. I have intimated to him your desire of his repairing to his Government; but he says it will be extremely inconvenient to him to do it, as he has a lawsuit to be tried in September next. He seems to think that it would not be proper or necessary for him to be present at the trial of Ensign Morgan. He is to deliver me his evidence in a week or ten days, when I shall order Mr. Morgan to join the army, for his trial.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Department, 5 August, 1792.

SIR,

Yesterday afternoon Mr. Vigo arrived here from Fort Washington, and brought despatches from Brigadier-Generals Putnam and Wilkinson to the 9th of July, as will appear by the abstracts of Brigadier Wilkinson's letter of the 9th of July, herein inclosed. I have the honor to inclose, for your consideration, General Putnam's letter, giving his opinion of the operations proper to be pursued. On this letter I shall, by the next post, submit to your view some observations. The fate of poor Trueman is but too probably sealed, and perhaps that of Hardin too.

General Putnam, in his letter of the 5th of July, which principally contains the same information as that mentioned in Wilkinson's letters, states it as his opinion, that a treaty ought to be concluded, as soon as possible, with the Wabash Indians, and presents be made. Being firmly persuaded of the soundness of this opinion, I shall direct the measure. It is more especially necessary, as Mr. Vigo informs me, that the said Indians would not come even to Fort Washington, much less to Philadelphia. Brigadier Wilkinson's attention to all parts of his duty, and his activity, render him a great acquisition to the public.

A banditti, without any fixed residence, consisting of about ten Cherokees, thirty Creeks, and fourteen Shawanese, outcasts from their respective tribes, are perpetually committing depredations on the Cumberland settlements. They have lately attacked a military station near Nashville, and carried it. Twenty-

one men were killed, or taken ; but the Cherokees compelled the said banditti to deliver up their prisoners, amounting to six. These are the same rascals, probably, who attacked Major Doughty in the year 1789. I have this information from Mr. Vigo. The necessity of the case will justify the measure of empowering Governor Blount to call out sixty or one hundred mounted riflemen, to cut off, if possible, the said banditti. He has that number at present in service ; and, as he has been empowered to retain in service as many as he shall judge proper, there can be no doubt but he will keep them up as long as necessary.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 18 August, 1792.

SIR,

I am happy to be able, at length, to send you answers to the objections which were communicated in your letter of the 29th of July.*

They have unavoidably been drawn in haste, too much so to do perfect justice to the subject, and have been copied just as they flowed from my heart and pen, without revision or correction. You will observe, that here and there some severity appears. I have not fortitude enough always to bear, with calmness, calumnies, which necessarily include me as a principal agent in the measures censured, of the

* See this letter in Washington's Writings, Vol. X. p. 283; and the "answers to the objections," here mentioned, in Hamilton's Works, Vol. IV. p. 248.

falsehood of which I have the most unqualified consciousness. I trust that I shall always be able to bear, as I ought, imputations of errors of judgment; but I acknowledge that I cannot be entirely patient under charges which impeach the integrity of my public motives or conduct. I feel that I merit them *in no degree*; and expressions of indignation sometimes escape me, in spite of every effort to suppress them. I rely on your goodness for the proper allowances.

With high respect, and the most affectionate attachment, I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

War Department, 31 August, 1792.

SIR,

I have the honor to submit herein, inclosed, a letter to the Governor of Georgia, and one to Mr. Seagrove; the former draughted by the Attorney-General, and both approved by the same, and the Secretary of the Treasury. The principles you were pleased to suggest have been the basis of these papers.* The manner of treating the Spaniards and McGillivray, was unanimously considered as the most proper to be adopted in the present conjuncture. One of the Spanish Commissioners is at present in Virginia, and the other in the country, but will return either to-day or to-morrow. I shall see him, and, conformably to the advice of the gentlemen, mention the affair verbally and informally; the result of which I will have the honor to transmit to you.

* Washington's Writings, Vol. X. p. 267.

Letters have just been received from Major-General Wayne. All quiet. He has transmitted his ideas of the further progress of the war, in case the negotiations should fail, which shall be transmitted by the next post. I have directed that the express be furnished with one hundred dollars, out of which he will return the money you were pleased to advance him.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 17 October, 1792.

SIR,

In a letter from Monticello, I took the liberty of saying that, as soon as I should return here, where my letter-books were, I would take the liberty of troubling you with the perusal of such parts of my correspondence from France, as would show my genuine sentiments of the new Constitution. When I arrived in Philadelphia, the 5th instant, I found that many of my letters had been already put into the papers, by the gentlemen possessed of the originals, as I presume; for not a word of it had ever been communicated to me, and the copies I had retained were under a lock, of which I had the key.

These publications are genuine, and render it unnecessary to give you any further trouble, than to see extracts from two or three other letters, which have not been published, and the genuine letter for the payment of the French debt. Pardon my adding this to so many troubles as you have. I think it necessary you should know my real opinions,

that you may know how to make use of me; and it is essential to my tranquillity not to be misknown to you. I hope it is the last time I shall feel a necessity of asking your attention to a disagreeable subject; being, with sincere wishes for your tranquillity and happiness, and with perfect respect, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Paris, 22 October, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 21st of June, is at length safely arrived. Poor Lafayette!* Your letter for him must remain with me some time. His enemies here are as virulent as ever, and I can give you no better proof than this. Among the King's papers was found nothing of what his enemies wished and expected, except his correspondence with M. de Lafayette, which breathes, from beginning to end, the purest sentiments of freedom. It is therefore kept secret, while he stands accused of designs, in conjunction with the dethroned monarch, to enslave his country.

The fact, respecting this correspondence, is communicated to me by a person to whom it was related confidentially by one of the parties who examined it. You will have seen, in my letters to Mr. Jefferson, a proposition made by Mr. Short respecting M. de Lafayette, with my reply. I had very good reason to apprehend that our interference, at that time, would

* Lafayette was made prisoner on the frontier of France, by the Austrians, on the 20th of August, and was soon afterwards confined in the castle of Wezel. Thence he was transferred successively to the prisons of Magdeburg, Glatz, Neisse, and Olmutz.

have been injurious to him; but I hope that a moment will soon offer, in which something may be done for his relief. In reading my correspondence with Mr. Short, you must consider that I wrote to the French and Austrian Government, as each would take the liberty to read my letters.

You will have seen, also, that, in my letters to Mr. Jefferson, I hint at the dangers attending a residence in this city. Some of the sanguinary events which have taken place, and which were partial executions of great plans, will point to a natural interpretation thereof; but these were not what I contemplated. Should we ever meet, I will entertain you with the recital of many things which it would be improper to commit to paper, at least for the present. You will have seen that the King is accused of high crimes and misdemeanours; but I verily believe that he wished sincerely for this nation the enjoyment of the utmost degree of liberty which their situation and circumstances will permit. He wished for a good Constitution; but, unfortunately, he had not the means to obtain it, or, if he had, he was thwarted by those about him. What may be his fate, God only knows; but history informs us, that the passage of dethroned monarchs is short from the prison to the grave.

I have mentioned to Mr. Jefferson, repeatedly, my wish to have positive instructions and orders for my government. I need not tell you, Sir, how agreeable this would be to me, and what a load it would take from my mind. At the same time, I am fully sensible that it may be inconvenient to give me such orders. The United States may wish to temporize, and see how things are likely to end; and in such case, leaving me at large, with the right reserved to avow or disavow me according to circumstances and events, is

for the Government an eligible position. My part in the play, is not quite so eligible; but, although I wish the Senate to be sensible of this, I am far from wishing that any precipitate step be taken to relieve me from it, for I know how contemptible is every private consideration, when compared with the public interests. One step, however, seems natural; namely, to say that, before any new letters of credence are given, it will be proper to know to whom they are to be directed, because the Convention, a mere temporary body, is to be succeeded by some fixed form, and it may be a long time before any such form will be adopted.

Mr. Jefferson, from the materials in his possession, will be able to give you an accurate account of the military events. I discover three capital errors in the conduct of the Duke of Brunswick. First, his proclamation arrogated rights, which, on no construction, could belong to him or his employers, and contained threats which no circumstances could warrant, and which, in no supposable success, could be executed. They tended, however, to unite the nation in opposing him, seeing that no hope remained for those who had taken any part in the revolution; and the conduct observed towards Monsieur de Lafayette and his companions, was a severe comment on the cruelty of the rest. Thus, in the same moment, he wounded the pride, insulted the feelings, and alarmed the fears of all France. And, by his thundering menaces to protect the royal family, he plunged them into the situation from which he meant to extricate them.

The second error was, not to dash at Paris the instant he received the news of the affair of the tenth. He should then have advanced at all hazards, and if, in so doing, he had declared to the several Generals

and armies, that he expected their assistance to restore their dethroned Prince and violated Constitution, I am persuaded that he would have met with as much support as opposition. I learn, within these two days, that the Delegates of Lorraine and Alsace had so little hope, or rather were so thoroughly persuaded that those Provinces would join the enemy, that they made unusual haste to come forward, lest they should be apprehended. Great activity, in that moment, would have done wonders; but then he was not ready.

The third great error was, that, after waiting so long, he came forward at all, this season. By menacing the frontiers with great and increasing force, vast numbers of the militia would have been drawn to the utmost verge of the French territory. The difficulty of subsisting them there would have been extreme. By taking strong and good positions, his troops would have been preserved in full vigor, and the French, wasted by disease, tired of inaction, and stimulated by their natural impatience and impetuosity of temper, would have forced their Generals to attack, even if *they* had the prudence to be quiet. The consequence of such attack, excepting always the will of God, must have been a complete victory on his part, and then it would have been next to impossible for them to escape. Then the towns would have surrendered, believing the business to be over, and he might have come as far forward this autumn as the needful transportation of stores would permit. Next spring France would have found it almost impossible to subsist the armies needful for the defence in that part of the country which is most defensible, and, of consequence, her enemy would have reached the point from which he lately retreated, without the smallest difficulty.

The appearances are so vague and contradictory, that I cannot pretend to tell you whether the alliance will or will not be preserved for the next campaign. If I were to hazard conjectures on the present state of things, it might cast suspicions where I have not sufficient ground, and therefore I will bury them in my own bosom, lest accident should put this letter into improper hands. France has a strong ally in the feelings of those nations who are subject to despotism; but, for that very reason, she has a mortal enemy in every Prince. If, as is very possible, the league should hold firm till next spring, it will then have gained considerable auxiliaries, and I am very much mistaken if this nation will make as great efforts as those she is now making. The character of nations must be taken into consideration in all political questions, and that of France has ever been an enthusiastic inconstancy. They soon get tired of a thing. They adopt without examination, and reject without sufficient cause. They are now agog with their republic, and may perhaps adopt some form of Government with a huzza; but that they will adopt a good form, or, having adopted, adhere to it, is what I do not believe. There is a great body of Royalists in the country, who do not now declare themselves, because it would be certain death; but a favorable occasion would bring them out of their holes.

The factions here are violent, and among those who administer the Government there is not, I am told, that degree of character which lays hold of the esteem and respect of mankind, but rather the contrary. In their opponents, there is a nervous temper, which sticks at nothing; and, if I see rightly, there is in the current of their affairs, a strong eddy or counter tide, which may change materially both men and

things. Yet, let what will happen, I think it hardly possible that they should blunder as much as the emigrants; and I am prone to believe that, in war and politics, the folly of our adversaries constitutes our greatest force. The future prospect, therefore, is involved in mist and darkness.

There is but one sovereign in Europe, the Empress of Russia, who is not, in the scale of talents, considerably below par. The Emperor, who, it is said, is consumptive and cannot live long, is now much influenced by Manfredi, a statesman of the Italian school, who takes insincerity for wisdom. The Prussian Cabinet is far from strong. Leuchesini, an able man, is said to be rising in influence there; but there is such a mixture of lust and folly in the Chief, that no one man can keep things steady. The alliance with Vienna is disagreeable to the Prussians, and particularly to the inhabitants of Berlin, which may have some influence in destroying it; and his Majesty has given three strong proofs, since his accession, that he is by no means nice on the subject of public faith. The invasion of Brabant will, I am persuaded, alarm both Britain and Holland; but whether they will confine themselves to court intrigue, or come into the field, is doubtful.

Thus you will perceive, Sir, that nothing can be predicted, with tolerable certainty, respecting the affairs of this country, either internal or external, at the present moment. I am, &c.,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Treasury Department, 19 November, 1792.

SIR,

I have carefully reflected on the application of Mr. Ternant, for an additional supply of money for the use of the Colony of St. Domingo, on account of the debt due to France, which I regard more and more as presenting a subject extremely delicate and embarrassing. Two questions arise; first, as to the ability of the United States to furnish the money, which is stated at about three hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars, in addition to the sum remaining of the four hundred thousand dollars some time since promised; secondly, as to the propriety of doing it, on political considerations.

With regard to ability, I feel little doubt that it will be in the power of the Treasury to furnish the sum. Yet, circumstanced as we are, with the possibility of more extensive demands than at present exist, for exigencies of a very serious nature, I think it would not be desirable to be bound by a positive stipulation for the entire amount.

With regard to the propriety of the measure on political considerations, more serious difficulties occur. The late suspension of the King, which is officially communicated, and the subsequent abolition of royalty by the Convention, which the newspapers announce with every appearance of authenticity, essentially change, for the moment, the condition of France.

If a restoration of the King should take place, I am of opinion that no payment, which might be made in the interval, would be deemed regular or obligatory. The admission of it to our credit would conse-

quently be considered as matter of discretion, according to the opinion entertained of its merit and utility. A payment to the newly constituted power, as a reimbursement in course, or in any manner which would subject it to be used in support of the change, would doubtless be rejected.

An advance, however, to supply the urgent necessities of a part of the French empire, struggling under the misfortune of an insurrection, of the nature of that which has for some time distressed, and now exposes to the danger of total ruin by famine, the Colony of St. Domingo, is of a different complexion. Succours, furnished in such a situation, under due limitations, would be so clearly an act of humanity and friendship, of such evident utility to the French empire, that no future Government could refuse to allow a credit for them, without a disregard of moderation and equity. But the claim for such credit would not be of a nature to be regularly and of course valid; consequently would be liable to be disputed.

The condition in which the Colony has lately placed itself, by espousing the last change which has been made in France, operates as a serious difficulty in the case, and may be made a ground of objection to any aid which may be given them. There is even a question, whether there be now any organ of the French nation, which can regularly ask the succour; whether the commission to Mr. Ternant be not virtually superseded. It is also an objection (in the view of regularity and validity) to the supply asked, that the decree of the National Assembly, on which it is founded, contemplated a negotiation between the Executive power in France, and our Minister there. The channel has not been pursued, and no substitute

has been provided. The business wants organization, in every sense.

From these premises I deduce,—that nothing can be done without risk to the United States; that, therefore, as little as possible ought to be done; that whatever may be done, should be cautiously restricted to the idea of *preserving the Colony from destruction by famine*; that, in all communications on the subject, care should be taken to put it on this footing, and even to avoid the explicit recognition of any regular authority in any person. Under these cautions and restrictions, but not otherwise, I beg leave to submit it as my opinion that succours ought to be granted, notwithstanding the degree of risk which will attend it; that they should be effected by occasional advances, without previous stipulation, and with only a general assurance that the United States, disposed to contribute by friendly offices to the preservation of an important portion of the French Empire, and to that of French citizens from the calamity of famine, will endeavour, from time to time, as far as circumstances will permit, to afford means of sustenance.

According to a statement of M. de la Forest, the provisions desired to be shipped in the course of November would amount to eighty-three thousand eight hundred dollars, including the total supply of fish and oil. Towards this he computes the application of fifty thousand dollars out of the remainder of the four hundred thousand dollars heretofore promised, which would leave a deficiency of thirty-three thousand eight hundred dollars. This sum, or, in round numbers, forty thousand, can be engaged to be furnished; and in December, if no future circumstances forbid, a further sum can be engaged to be supplied, payable at a future short period. It will be proper

that the most precise measures should be taken to ascertain, from time to time, the investment of the moneys supplied, in purchasing and forwarding provisions from this country to the Colony in question. It has been heretofore understood that the balance of the sum, some time since stipulated, was to be furnished; which, accordingly, has been and is doing. Engagements for supplies have been entered into upon the basis of that stipulation; and payments to as great, if not a greater amount, are becoming due, in which the citizens of the United States are materially interested.

The caution, which is deemed necessary, has reference not only to the safety of the United States in a pecuniary respect, but to the consideration of avoiding a dangerous commitment, which may even prove a source of misunderstanding between this country and the future Government of the French nation. From all that is hitherto known, there is no ground to conclude that the governing power, by the last advices, will be of long duration. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and truest attachment, Sir, &c.,

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 1 January, 1793.

SIR,

I have duly considered the translation of the letter of December 27th, from M. de la Forest, stating that the French Consuls here have a right to receive their salaries at Paris; that, under the present circum-

stances, they cannot dispose of their bills; and desiring that our Government will take them as a remittance in part of the moneys we have to pay to France. No doubt he proposes to let us have them on such terms as may insure us against loss either from the course of exchange of cash for cash at Philadelphia, Amsterdam, and Paris, or from the difference between cash and *assignats* at Paris, in which latter form they will probably be paid.

I do not observe any objection from the Treasury, that this channel of remittance would be out of their ordinary line, and inadmissible on that account. Taking it, therefore, on the ground merely of an advance unauthorized by the French Government, I think the bills may be taken. We have every reason to believe the money is due to them, and none to doubt it will be paid, every creditor being authorized to draw on his debtor. They will be paid indeed in *assignats*, at the nominal value only; but it is previously understood that these will procure cash on the spot, of the real value we shall have paid for them. The risk, if any, is certainly very small, and such as it would be expedient in us to encounter in order to oblige these gentlemen. I think it of real value, to produce favorable dispositions in the agents of foreign nations here. Cordiality among nations depends very much on the representations of their agents mutually; and cordiality, once established, is of immense value, even counted in money, from the favors it produces in commerce, and the good understanding it preserves in matters merely political.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most perfect respect and attachment, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Paris, 14 February, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have received yours of the 20th of October, which was very long on its way. You will find that events have blackened more and more in this country. The present prospects are dreadful. It is not so much, perhaps, the external force, great as that may be; for there are always means of defence in so vast a nation. The exhausted state of resources might also be borne with, if not remedied. But the disorganized state of the Government appears to be irremediable. The venality is such, that if there be no traitors, it is because the enemy have not common sense. Without the aid of venality, there are not a few who, from mistaken zeal, and from ignorance, contribute to the success of those powers who are leagued against France. Many, also, under the garb of patriotism, conceal their attachment to the former Government. In short, the fabric of the present system is erected on a quagmire. The new Constitution has not yet made its appearance, but it is easy to conjecture what it will *not* be. In the mean time I learn, that the Ministers of War and Marine declare it impossible for them to go on. How all this will end, God only knows; but I fear it will end badly.

I will not speak of my own situation; you will judge that it is far from pleasant. I could be popular, but that would be wrong. The different parties pass away like the shadows in a magic lantern, and to be well with any one of them, would, in a short period, become the cause of unquenchable hatred with the others.

Happy, happy America; governed by reason, by law, by the man whom she loves, whom she almost adores! It is the pride of my life to consider that man as my friend, and I hope long to be honored with that title. God bless you, my dear Sir, and keep and preserve you! Your cool and steady temper is now of infinite consequence to our country. As soon as I can see the way open to any thing decisive, I shall inform you of it. At present I weary myself with unavailing reflection, meditation, and conjecture. A partition seems the most probable event at present. Adieu.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Philadelphia, 14 February, 1793.

SIR,

I have revolved, with great attention, the matter of the letter which you yesterday did me the honor of confiding to my perusal. Convulsed as we are, I cannot but believe that there is scarcely a man in the Government, whom party will not, sooner or later, destine for an attack. A communication, therefore, which seems even to be tinctured with particular objects, will naturally excite caution. I hope, however, that I shall not be understood to insinuate the most distant suspicion of that affectionate attachment which is professed; for I am truly persuaded of it. I mean no more than that kind of caution which would prevent you from heartily acceding to, or rejecting, propositions so delicate in themselves.

What is due to the French nation up to the close of 1792, ought, if practicable, to be paid to the ex-

isting authorities of France. This can never be questioned as to its validity or propriety, let the shape of their Government be what it will ; nor can it give just umbrage to any member of the hostile Confederacy. But, as this sum is probably far below the wishes of the French Minister, it will be asked whether the large advance of three million tournois can be made ; and, if it can, ought it to be made ?

You informed me, Sir, that the ability of the treasury to accomplish this, depended upon the success of a bill now on its passage through the Legislature. Of course the United States are not yet in a capacity of advancing, unless the other advice be followed, of scrutinizing the Treasury Department, and thence discovering funds ; or of instituting a new loan. The former is in a train of being executed, and could not now be quickened. Should the Executive at this moment originate a similar investigation, it might look like something more than a neutrality between the parties. Possibly, at a future day, when the result of the Congressional inquiry shall be known, if it should not be satisfactory to you, you may deem it expedient to impart the nature of the information referred to in the letter to the Secretary of the Treasury. In the mean time, while Congress are still in motion on the subject of finance, I presume that the proposed alternative of a loan must be suspended.

Let me next suppose, that money adequate to the advance was now in hand. Even the situation of France, with respect to other powers, is serious and important. A voluntary payment of what is not yet due, carries with it causes of jealousy. On the opposite side, threatened famine will, if not attempted to be averted, rouse the zealous partisans of French politics in America. Perhaps, too, it may deserve

consideration, how far the opportunity of forming a close connection with the French republic may be lost or weakened by refusing to gratify it, and how far it may spread a favorable impression of the Federal Administration throughout the United States. Again; should the advance be approved, the allied nations can well be told, if they remonstrate, that the danger of a famine was a leading motive. Should it be disapproved, the French will be conscious that they have no right to demand it, and that money cannot be furnished in republics at will, or in the same profusion as in monarchies. Upon the whole, I should be inclined to the advance, if it was easily within our reach. But I see no reason, nor a state of things sufficiently ripe, for deciding the question at this moment.

I take the liberty, therefore, of suggesting, whether Mr. Ternant may not be informed that the balance, up to the end of 1792, shall be paid, and that a definitive answer, as to the residue of the requisition, will be given as soon as the fiscal arrangements of Congress shall be finished. Then, and not till then, will you be possessed of the facts, necessary in such a case; then, and not till then, will you be able to avoid the appearance of sheltering one officer, or of countenancing his adversary. Mr. Ternant cannot but acquiesce in the fitness of the measure; and it will be seen, by the gentleman who wrote the letter, that while you will not precipitate yourself into the steps recommended, you have marked out, in your own mind, a day, reasonably distant, for again calling the subject into view.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Philadelphia, 22 February, 1793.

SIR,

I do myself the honor of presenting to you some of those views, which the very delicate affair of *the removal* affords, and the result of a provisional inquiry which I set on foot.

1. The charges have come in an ambiguous form, half private, half public; and it must be uncertain, until the arrival of the new Minister from France, to what extent those charges are to be pressed. To seize so imperfect an opportunity for dismissal, might argue an eagerness to get rid of the officer; and, before such a stroke is given to the reputation of any man, ought he not to be heard?

2. I understand, however, that a middle ground has been recommended; by exchanging the gentleman in question for another diplomatic resident. At first sight, this expedient has the advantage of being conciliatory, although, even in this particular, it may possibly fail. But what will be the reason given out to the world for such an alteration? I here take it for granted, that if, on any such occasion, the Cabinet can conceal the genuine motive, on this it will be notorious. It will be known in France, and throughout the United States, that the disgust of the French Ministry at the hostility of our officer's politics was the leading cause of the decisive step. The people of the United States will immediately say, that he is not only protected in his misconduct, but that a partiality is discovered for his ideas on government, against which they are eminently inveterate, from their real sympathy with the revolution of France.

Again; it will be difficult to satisfy the people of France, that it was consistent with an affectionate regard for their welfare, to send a Minister thus prejudiced against them, whom they assert to be "dangerous from his talents," to the Court of London, which has now probably become an avowed enemy to them.

3. I doubt, therefore, exceedingly, whether any determination ought yet to be made; especially as, during the recess of the Senate, you may remove, if you think proper. But I can scarcely doubt on the impropriety of the substitute proposed, considered relatively to the present time, although after circumstances may perhaps require these sentiments to be revised.

4. Supposing the ultimate possibility of a dismissal, I have labored, provisionally, to bring about the other arrangement. But I find this to be impracticable; the one gentleman being immovable in the resolution which he expressed to you the other day, and the other gentleman being very explicit, that it is absolutely inadmissible, in his mind, to enter into the Administration under either of the aspects contemplated, or, indeed, under any other.

I have the honor, &c.,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON, SECRETARY OF STATE.

6 June, 1793.

SIR,

I cannot but think, that, to decline the proposition of Mr. Genet on the subject of our debt, without assigning any reasons at all, would have a very dry

and unpleasant aspect indeed. We are then to examine what are our good reasons for the refusal, which of them may be spoken out, and which may not.

1. Want of confidence in the continuance of the present form of Government, and consequently that advances to them might commit us with their successors. This cannot be spoken out.

2. Since they propose to take the debt in produce, it would be better for us that it should be done in moderate masses yearly, than all in one year. This cannot be professed.

3. When M. de Calonne was Minister of Finance, a Dutch company proposed to buy up the whole of our debt, by dividing it into sections, or shares. I think M. Clavière, now Minister of Finance, was their agent. It was observed to M. de Calonne, that to create such a mass of American paper, divide it into shares, and let them deluge the market, would depreciate them, the rest of our paper, and our credit in general; that the credit of a nation was a delicate and important thing, and should not be risked on such an operation. M. de Calonne, sensible of the injury of the operation to us, declined it.

In May, 1791, there came, through Mr. Otto, a similar proposition from Schweizer, Jeanneret and Co. We had a representation on the subject from Mr. Short, urging this same reason strongly. It was referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, who, in a letter to yourself, assigned the reasons against it; and these were communicated to Mr. Otto, who acquiesced in them. This objection, then, having been sufficient to decline the proposition twice before, and having been urged to the two preceding forms of Government (the ancient, and that of 1791), will not be

considered by them as founded in objections to the present form.

4. The law allows the whole debt to be paid only on condition it can be done on terms advantageous to the United States. The Minister foresees this objection; and thinks he answers it by observing the advantage which the payment in *produce* will occasion. It would be easy to show that this was not the sort of advantage the Legislature meant, but a *lower rate of interest*.

5. I cannot but suppose, that the Secretary of the Treasury, much more familiar than I am with the money operations of the Treasury, would, on examination, be able to derive practical objections from them. We pay to France but five per cent. The people of this country would never subscribe their money for less than six. If, to remedy this, obligations at less than five per cent. were offered and accepted by Mr. Genet, he must part with them immediately at a considerable discount, to indemnify the loss of the one per cent.; and at a still greater discount to bring them down to par with our present six per cent.; so that the operation would be equally disgraceful to us, and losing to them, &c.

I think it very material, myself, to keep alive the friendly sentiments of that country, as far as can be done without risking war, or double payment. If the instalments, falling due this year, can be advanced, without incurring those dangers, I should be for doing it.

We now see, by the declaration of the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, on the part of Austria and Prussia, that the ultimate point they desire is, to restore the Constitution of 1791. Were this even to be done before the pay-days of this year, there is no doubt, in my

mind, but that that Government (as republican as the present, except in the form of its Executive) would confirm an advance so moderate in sum and time. I am sure the nation of France would never suffer their Government to go to war with us for such a bagatelle, and the more surely if that bagatelle shall have been granted by us so as to please, and not to displease the nation; so as to keep their affections engaged on our side. So that I should have no fear in advancing the instalment of this year, at epochs convenient to the Treasury; but, at any rate, should be for assigning reasons for not changing the form of the debt.

These thoughts are very hastily thrown on paper, as will be but too evident.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM THE COMTE DE HERTZBERG.

(Translation.)

Berlin, 14 June, 1793.

SIR,

From your humane character, you will doubtless permit me to introduce to you, Sir, the bearer of this letter, Mr. Laurent, a native of Hamburg, but of Prussian descent, who goes to America on commercial business, in order to recommend him to your protection, and to request you to favor him with your counsel and directions. It appears that he is a young man of good character, of good behaviour, well informed, and likely to succeed.

I have always admired your great virtues and qualities, your disinterested patriotism, your unshaken courage and simplicity of manners; qualifications, by

which you surpass men, the most celebrated of antiquity.

My name will not be unknown, nor altogether indifferent, to you. I presided thirty years in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the great and happy King Frederic II. Under his auspices, I alone made the celebrated peace of Hubertsburg, of Warsaw, of Teschen, of the Germanic Union; and, under the present King, that of Reichenbach. I had even the satisfaction of approving, as Minister of the Cabinet, the treaty of amity and commerce concluded between the King of Prussia and the United States of America, on the 10th of September, 1785, in which you have doubtless had the principal part, and by which the two parties agreed, in the twenty-third article, to act hostilely, in case of war, only against those who should be found armed, and not to interrupt merchants, or give letters of marque against merchant vessels. I acknowledge that I have felt the greatest pleasure on seeing that your nation had looked upon King Frederic II. as a worthy philosopher, by making a proposition of this kind to him, in order to give the example to other nations; and for the same reason, I readily accepted it; nor should I have neglected endeavouring to establish a direct commerce between Prussia and the United States of America, if I had not been forced, by the intrigues of my enemies, to retire, in the month of July, 1791, from the department of Foreign Affairs, and from our Cabinet (which till then I had directed, with as much probity and disinterestedness as success), not to be obliged to abandon the ancient and true system of a King of Prussia, by which the deceased and present King, notwithstanding the mediocrity of their monarchy, have nearly been masters of the equilibrium of all Europe.

I have not, however, entirely quitted the Ministry, but am now in the General Council of State, and have confined myself to the direction of the Academy of Science ; to the culture of the national silk, which I have pushed to a certain point ; to the writing of a history of Frederic II., my friend and constant companion, who, during the last six weeks, kept me alone near him ; and, in a word, by cultivating the land (as Curius and Cincinnatus) at Brientz, about a mile from Berlin, which I have also pushed to a high degree of cultivation by very simple means. You may see sketches of all this, in some small impressions, which I have given to Mr. Laurent, which are in fact, for the greatest part, in German, but which you will find no difficulty in having translated in a country which is inhabited by so many Germans.

I request you not to suppose that vanity has dictated all this ; but that it is of much consequence to me, to assure myself the suffrage of a great man, who has immortalized himself by creating a happy republic, with all the principles of which I pique myself in sympathizing, although I was born in a monarchical State, which is supposed to be despotic.

I wish you and your republic a constant prosperity, and all the happiness possible, to the termination of your days ; and I shall never cease to be, with the highest esteem, Sir,

Your sincere friend and admirer,

COMTE DE HERTZBERG.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Paris, 25 June, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just received yours of the 25th of March. Not having had time to read the gazettes, which are but just (and but in part) arrived, I cannot from them derive the information you allude to; but my first glance at them shows what I am sorry to see; and from thence I am induced to quote a sound maxim from an excellent book;—*“A house divided against itself cannot stand.”*

As to your reacceptance, Sir, you know my sentiments, which, on that, as on some other subjects, are, I think, unchangeable. It will be time enough for you to have a successor, when it shall please God to call you from this world's theatre. If such successor is then able to fill the President's chair, it will be matter of surprise to those who can form a competent idea of the office; but, during your life, I consider the thing as utterly impossible. And do not imagine, my dear Sir, that you can retire, though you may resign. You will, in such case, become the man of the opposition. However your good sense may differ from their madness, and your virtue from their villany, depend on it, they will cite you as being of their sentiment. If you are silent, you assent; and if you speak, you are committed. In the mean time, your poor successor is obliged to struggle under all the weight of your reputation, as well as that of the office. And he must be a strong man, who can carry either; of course, a very rash man, who would attempt to take up both.

I am very happy to find, that the determination

to maintain a strict neutrality is so common in America. I shall not dwell on that topic, because my several letters to Mr. Jefferson contain enough of it to weary your patience. By the by, I am mortified more than I can tell you, at the delay my letters experience in their passage. I task my mind, to its utmost bent, to discover those events which are most likely to happen, in order that (so far at least as my judgment can be relied on) you may be duly prepared; and, after all, you hear of the event before my almanac comes out. This is provoking, and would be much more so, did I not find, from experience, that the things I wish are done as well, and perhaps better, than if my conjectures had reached you.

I trust that, long ere this, you will have received what I had the honor to write on the 28th of December, 5th and 10th of January, and 14th of February. You will have seen that, in the end of last month and beginning of this, the long-expected insurrection took place, by which a new set of men are brought into power. Should the present society be able to establish themselves, I think M. Genet will have a successor; and if, the revolution completed, things return to the point from whence they started, I am sure M. Genet will have a successor. As to those who rule, or rather the few by whom *they* are directed, you may depend that they have just ideas of the value of popular opinion. They are not, however, in a condition to act according to knowledge; and, should they be able to reach a harbour, there will be quite as much of good luck as of good management in it. At any rate, a part of the crew will be thrown overboard. It is my opinion that the members of the Convention lately arrested will do nothing, for the greater part of them have only parole energy; and

if I were called on by any cogent motive to act, it should be in conformity to that idea. In my letter to Mr. Jefferson, of this day, I tell him that I shall implicitly obey his orders; but this is in reply to the broad hint, that my embarrassments may have arisen from inattention to the principles of free government. You may rely, Sir, that I shall be cautious to commit the United States as little as possible to future contingencies. In my last letter I gave you my idea of *popularity*.

I have never thought that three parties could conveniently exist in any one country; and therefore it seems to me that one of those, into which they who call themselves democrats are divided, must join the royalists. I do not inquire what negotiations are carried on to that effect; for I have no desire to meddle with such affairs, directly or indirectly, and should be very sorry to have the appearance of siding with any one party or faction whatever, being convinced that I can best do the business of the United States by keeping aloof from them all.

Those who command the royal or Christian army, as they call themselves, on the Loire, are good officers. Their enemies have, in my mind, passed the highest eulogium on them, in saying that the soldiers are brought to such a pitch of folly and madness, as to rush on, armed only with clubs, and possess themselves of the artillery, to whose fire they were exposed. As far as I have been able to learn, they profess themselves the friends of order and justice, and act conformably to such professions, protecting both persons and property wherever they arrive, and paying for whatever they take. Hence it happens, that their dominion is constantly extending itself; and if they should get possession of Nantes, which seems to

be their present object, they will be truly formidable, because then, by means of the Loire, a passage will be opened into the heart of the kingdom for as many troops as foreign powers may choose to send thither; or, if they should prefer fighting the battle with Frenchmen, they need only furnish money and warlike stores, and they would have as many men as they please, and the most fertile part of France to subsist in.

Farewell, my dear Sir. May God bless and keep you, not merely for your sake, and still less for that of your friends, but for the general good of our country!

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

Charleston, 11 July, 1793.

DEAR AND RESPECTED SIR,

General Pickens will do me the honor to deliver you this. He is a gentleman of great worth and integrity, and is well acquainted with the situation of these Southern States, particularly the Indian affairs. He and I have had some conversation respecting them. We agree that nothing else can be done, than that an expedition, composed of the militia of the three Southern States, should be immediately undertaken, and that four or five thousand men be raised and marched into their country. That number can be raised by the 1st of October, which will be a very good time to take the field.

I know of no man who is so proper to conduct this business as General Pickens. He is well known

and respected in these Southern States, and well acquainted with the Indian warfare. I humbly suggest, should you agree with us in opinion that an expedition is necessary against the Creek nation of Indians, that a special commission be given to General Pickens for that purpose, to prevent the other Generals from having any dispute with him. This expedition will be but one expense, and may terminate in three months after they take the field, and will establish a firm and lasting peace with the Indians.

I have the honor, &c.,

WILLIAM MOULTRIE.

FROM THE REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON.*

St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire, 17 August, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

The renewed choice of your Excellency to the Presidency, was what I expected; and I was much pleased when, looking over the Gazette of the United States, it appeared that the vote of every elector was in your favor. When the war commenced between Great Britain and France, I was repeatedly asked, What part will the Americans take? I always answered, I apprehend they will observe a strict neutrality; for peace and trade with the whole world is the interest of the United States. The arrival of your proclamation confirmed my opinion. But I suspect that the Court of St. James will not admit of your acting upon the principle of neutral vessels making neutral property, with an exception of war-like articles. You will, undoubtedly, maintain the

* Author of a History of the American Revolution.

principle, should prudence prevent entering upon hostilities to support it; but, by firmly maintaining the principle, instead of making the smallest concessions, you will vindicate your future conduct upon the occasion, whenever the opportunity offers of your supporting it by force, without any considerable hazard to yourselves. This, however, has not influenced me to trouble you with the present letter; but something of more consequence to the United States.

There is a prevailing idea in Great Britain, if not in other parts of Europe, that, whenever you are removed, the Federal Union will be dissolved, the States will separate, and disorder succeed; for that the American Government cannot, in its own nature, be lasting. The confusions in France, and the eccentric publications in the United States, tend to strengthen the idea. I am fully convinced, from what I have read in the manuscripts you possess, that nothing will give you greater satisfaction than being the means of disappointing such expectations. Some conjecture, that when you have been removed from these lower regions (may it be to the regions of perpetual bliss), for a few years the States will quarrel about who shall be President, and thereby produce a separation. I am fully convinced that one, if not more, of the first persons of the United States, is of opinion that, in time, an hereditary President must be chosen, to prevent the dangerous contests that periodical elections will produce, similar to what has happened repeatedly in choosing Polish sovereigns. An hereditary President will become, most probably, in a series of years, but another name for an hereditary monarch; and the whole spirit of government be changed into European, Asiatic, or African, whatever may be its bodily shape. Allow me, then, to ask your opinion,

whether the following plan might not, if brought into execution, be preventive of such a deplorable event.

Let an alteration be made in that part of the Federal Constitution, that relates to the choice of President. Let it be agreed, by the United States, that, after your decease or declining the Presidentship, the President shall be chosen, alternately, from each State (in the same form as now) for four years, the population of each State to determine the rotation, from the highest to the lowest, the first and the last; the population to be settled as soon as possible, and then the order for each State's furnishing a President, be declared. When every State has enjoyed the privilege, before the last in rotation has completed its term of four years, let the population of the States be taken afresh, and a new orderly list be formed, as the variations produced by sixty years and more may require. Though Virginia has furnished a President once and again, before such alteration in the choice of a President, her right to the order of the rotation not to be vacated. I cannot be absolutely certain, but I conceive that it was at length agreed, by the former Congress, that the President should be chosen in rotation from the respective States, or a State that had not before furnished one.

Whether we may judge alike upon this delicate and important subject, I know not; but I am convinced that your Excellency will give me credit for my attachment to the welfare of the United States, and will deem it respectful that I have not communicated these thoughts to any other correspondent, and have intrusted it with you to digest, and ripen, and bring forward the plan, if honored with your approbation, in your own way and time. I am too much attached to American liberty and the United States,

to fail in praying for their continued and increasing prosperity.

Mrs. Gordon joins me in wishing your Excellency, and your lady, the best of Divine blessings through the remainder of life, and an infinitely better life hereafter, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I deplore the situation of our friend Lafayette, but can obtain no news of him, other than of his general imprisonment. May he be supported through the trial, and at length be restored to the public and his friends!

I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM GORDON.

P. S. If what the newspaper, which arrived yesterday, mentioned, should be true, that Mr. Hamilton had written to all the American ports to admit French prizes, but not prizes taken by the powers at war with France, and there is a settled determination on the part of the Americans to fulfil the articles of the treaty with them in 1778, wherein special privileges are granted them beyond those who are their enemies,—however desirous you may be of observing a neutrality in other respects, I divine, from the hauteur of the British Ministry, that prudence will require your getting ready for a rupture, that you may have the chance of preventing it. May heaven forbid such a rupture! Should it take place, I can pray for my friends, though I can no longer correspond with them.

FROM GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Paris, 19 October, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had hopes, until last evening, that the persons, who are to go out as Commissioners from hence, would have embarked with Captain Culver; but circumstances have delayed the appointment. The plan which was in agitation, and which will probably be carried into effect, is to send over three or four Commissioners, one of whom will be charged with Letters of Credence, but instructed to conform to the directions of the Board. It is probable that the new Minister, immediately on being presented, will ask you to aid in securing the person and papers of the old one. My public despatch of this day contains a remote hint to lead the investigation of the Secretary of State. I did not choose to be more particular, because you can both give and take the informations you think proper.

I have favored, or rather excited the idea of this procedure, for the following reasons. First, such a public act will place in a contemptible light the faction connected with M. Genet. Secondly, the seizure of his papers, by exposing his connections with prime movers, will give a lesson to others. And thirdly, the Commissioners who exercise this high-handed authority will, on reflection, feel the necessity of respecting your Government, lest they should meet a similar fate. Having alarmed their apprehensions, as to the effect which M. Genet's imprudence might produce, and knowing the public and private views of the parties, I have insinuated the advantage which might result from an early declaration on the part of the new

Minister, that, as France has announced her determination not to meddle with the interior affairs of other nations, so he can know only the *Government* of America. In unison with this idea, I told the Minister that I had observed an overruling influence in their affairs, which seemed to come from the other side of the Channel, and at the same time had traced the intention to excite a seditious spirit in America; that it was impossible to be on a friendly footing with such persons; but that at present a different spirit seemed to prevail. This declaration produced the effect I intended. The Minister has himself the wish to go out to America as Plenipotentiary, and M. Otto, his principal Secretary, having the same wish, they will, I believe, endeavour, while they stay, to put things in good train here.

It may be an important judicial question, how far the Minister is protected by the law of nations, after the arrival of his successor. In my opinion, the same principles, which exempt him from the municipal law, subject him to the will of his sovereign, and, of course, the aid given to the new Minister is not an act of the *judiciary* but of the *Executive*, performed as an ally and friend, and is merely discretionary. I find that this Commission will endeavour to get hold of the debt from America to France by anticipation. If no other reasons militated against the advance, the advantage of a pledge to satisfy damages which our citizens may sustain during the present violence, is considerable, and will not, I presume, be overlooked.

I am, &c.,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

FROM JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Lebanon, 31 October, 1793.

DEAR SIR,

By some unaccountable delay, the letter with which you have favored me, of the 13th instant, did not reach me till the 30th. While writing mine of the 2d of this month, the doubt which you have been pleased to mention, respecting the law of Congress fixing the seat of Government, occurred to me; but, turning to the law, I found the fifth section mentions, "That prior, &c., *all offices* attached to the seat of Government shall be removed to Philadelphia, &c., at which place, the session of Congress *next ensuing*, shall be held." The sixth section mentions, "That in *the year* 1800 the seat of Government shall be transferred, &c., and all offices, &c. shall be also removed, &c.;" but not a word of the Legislature; by which it would seem it is left to its own adjournment, and the discretion of the President on extra occasions. Indeed, I conceived that the Constitution, in granting this discretion, must have contemplated *place*, as well as *time*, of meeting; because the necessity for its exercise might be grounded equally in one as the other. Witness the existing instance, the first that has occurred.

Moreover, the Constitution must be paramount to the law in such cases; otherwise, the power granted may be so controlled as not to be sufficient to surmount the necessity of the occasion. The like necessity may also exist under other circumstances; such as the total destruction of the city by fire, or other means; its being in complete possession of an enemy, and other insurmountable calamities which might oc-

cur. In all which cases if the law, fixing the seat of Government, must rise superior to the Constitution, the discretionary power of the President, calculated to afford a remedy under such exigencies, must be futile, and prove totally inadequate to the purposes for which it was intended.

I also considered that, should doubts arise, they would be easily obviated by reflecting that this exercise of discretion could not be dangerous, because it would be in the power of Congress, as soon as met, to remedy the evil, should they apprehend any, by an immediate adjournment to wherever they might judge proper. Besides, it is calculated to remedy an existing inconvenience and danger to themselves, which in its nature is only temporary, and is hoped to prove of but short continuance.

As to the place of meeting, I am very sensible it will be an object of delicacy to decide. When I took the liberty to suggest the hints I gave to you, this difficulty presented itself; and I was then almost tempted to add a word on that head, but was repressed by the fear of assuming too much. I therefore now mention, what I before thought, that in casting about, it is probable the towns of Baltimore and New York will present themselves to your mind as the most convenient places. To the latter, I am sensible; objections will be started by some, notwithstanding its superior advantages, perhaps, for the present temporary occasion. To obviate, therefore, these objections to New York, should they appear with weight, and to save any uneasiness in the minds of our southern brethren from that quarter, I have thought for myself (and in this I have been joined by others) that I should perfectly acquiesce in Baltimore. I should mention the expedient of convening Congress

somewhere in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and leave the final decision of *place* to their determination, but that I fear such event may occasion disputes and delay, not to say heats, perhaps, which might prove much more detrimental to our general interests than your fixing, at once, a place by your own judgment and discretion. I most sincerely hope that, whatever place is appointed, the melancholy occasion of leaving Philadelphia may speedily be removed, and that Congress may soon be able to return to that city again.

With real regard and respect, I am, &c.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

P. S. Before closing this letter we are gratified with much more favorable accounts from Philadelphia than for some time past. I really hope they may prove true, and that circumstances in that distressed city may continue to meliorate, so that you may have complete relief from your present dilemma on that score.*

FROM WILLIAM GODDARD.

Johnston, near Providence, 16 December, 1793.

SIR,

Removed to the humble vale of rural life, it was but recently that the "Memoirs of the Life of Charles Lee" fell under my observation; and, as I once announced a design of publishing a work nearly similar in title, though far different in contents, I am compelled, by the most unfeigned respect to your charac-

* Alluding to the yellow fever, which prevailed there with great violence in the summer and autumn of 1793.

ter, as well as justice to myself, to address you on the subject, presuming upon the liberality and candor I have formerly experienced from you, that you will give due credit to my assertions, when I utterly disclaim, as I now solemnly do, all share or concern in the printed "Memoirs" that have been so improperly ushered (*viâ* London) to the public eye.

The editor, while I was absent, clandestinely took the manuscripts of General Lee from my house, and, urged by his necessities and avarice, hath, without judgment to discriminate, compiled and sent abroad a heterogeneous collection of letters, essays, and fragments, even private letters, written to and by distinguished characters, at periods of friendship and confidence, which ought, and I am persuaded was the wish of the writers, to have been buried in oblivion.

When I contemplated the publication of the Memoirs of the late General Lee, my design was to publish certain literary and military papers, with such epistolary writings as would, I judged, by interesting the public, at once promote my own interest as a printer, and enhance the fame of a departed friend, who, it must be allowed, inherited from nature a rare and brilliant genius, and possessed a cultivated understanding. It was, indeed, foreign to my design to introduce an essay, a letter, or a sentiment, that would wound the feelings, or excite the disapprobation, of a single worthy person, or cast the least blemish upon the reputation of General Lee, by sporting with his lively sallies, and unguarded (because confidential) communications, or even to give currency to a single line, that "dying, he would wish to blot."

Sensible, Sir, of the great importance (particularly at this juncture) of your avocations, I shall not pre-

sume longer to obtrude on your time, having, I hope, been sufficiently explicit to exculpate myself from an imputation of disrespect to a character, for whom, with applauding millions, I feelingly accord my humble, though sincere, tribute of grateful veneration.

WILLIAM GODDARD.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 2 January, 1794.

SIR,

I do myself the honor of inclosing to you a certificate from Judge Wilson, of my having qualified as Secretary of State. A duplicate is deposited among the files of the office.

I must entreat you, Sir, to receive my very affectionate acknowledgments for the various instances of your confidence, and to be assured that, let the consequence be what it may, in this office no consideration of party shall ever influence me. Nothing shall relax my attention or warp my probity; and it shall be my unremitted study to become an accurate master of this new and important business. At the commencement of my duties, I have thought it advisable to write to the Secretaries of the Treasury and of War, and to the President of the Bank of the United States, the letters of which the inclosed are copies.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 26 January, 1794.

SIR,

I have examined all Mr. Morris's ministerial correspondence; and, after the impression which I had received from others, whom I supposed to be conversant with it, I am really astonished to find so little of what is exceptionable, and so much of what the most violent would call patriotic. The parts to be withheld, will probably be of these denominations;—1, what relates to Mr. G——t; 2, some harsh expressions on the conduct of the rulers in France, which, if returned to that country, might expose him to danger; 3, the authors of some interesting information, who, if known, would be infallibly denounced. He speaks indeed of *his Court*, a phrase which he might as well have let alone. I shall do myself the honor of waiting on you in the morning; and I write now, only to give you an outline of the true state of the business. I have the honor, Sir, to be, with the highest respect,

Your most obedient servant,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM HENRY KNOX, SECRETARY OF WAR.

(Private.)

19 March, 1794.

SIR,

As it is understood that the bill for fortifying the ports and harbours has passed into a law, I beg leave respectfully to lay before you the following thoughts upon the manner of executing this business.

The operation of the Federal Government upon the State Governors and State officers, it is well known, has been, in general, rather irksome than otherwise, as it has tended to lessen their patronage and influence, and perhaps, in their opinion, of course somewhat to impair their dignity, when compared with their situation under the Confederation. The Governors are Commanders-in-chief of the militia of their respective States, and, as such, were the last year called upon, in the name of the President of the United States, to perform certain unpleasant duties relative to the preservation of our neutrality.

These observations are made with this view, that it would most probably be a conciliatory and grateful measure to them, as Commanders of the militia, to be the Agents of the United States, in a certain degree, of the proposed fortifications. For instance, the Engineers might be desired to consult and take the opinions of the Governors upon the points most proper to be fortified, and to report to them the reasons on which their opinions should be founded, which opinions the Governors might confirm or reject, and transmit the result to the Secretary of War, in order to be submitted to the President of the United States. The Governors might also be required to appoint some suitable person to superintend the erection of the works, the keeping of the accounts, &c., and also of the mounting of such cannon as are to be mounted in, or furnished by, the respective States.

By an arrangement of this sort, it is conceived that the Governors would be kindly brought to act by system to support the General Government, and that, unless something of this nature shall be devised, they might be displeased and disgusted. Some Agents must be appointed. The Governors are on the spot,

and well acquainted with characters, and really possess higher responsibility than any other individuals. It may, therefore, perhaps be expedient, in an economical as well as political view, to request their assistance on this occasion. Whether these ideas be well founded, or not, is respectfully submitted.

I am, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Philadelphia, 6 April, 1794.

SIR,

I conclude, from what you observed yesterday, that, in the nomination of an Envoy Extraordinary to London, you prefer some statement more special than is customary in nominations. I beg leave, therefore, to present to you a short review of the subject, that you may determine whether the occurrences in the Legislature are ripe for such a statement.

I believe that I was among the first, if not the first, who suggested this mission to your consideration, and I am still its advocate. I was induced to think favorably of the measure,—1. Because the representations made by our Minister in Ordinary, seemed to rest on the British files among the business, which, if ever entered upon, would be entered upon at extreme leisure. 2. Because the recent accumulation of injuries called for pointed notice. 3. Because the merchants and insurers would suspect an inattention in Government, if their interests were left to the routine and delays of common affairs, and would, on the other hand, be highly gratified by the

movement. 4. Because the British nation, without whose affections the British Minister can do nothing of importance in war, ought to be retained, by the strongest demonstrations, in the persuasion that we mean peaceable negotiation, rather than war. And 5. Because a distinguished character, sent fresh from the feelings of the United States, would with more confidence assert, and with more certainty impress.

I confess that two remarks, which came from yourself, had for some time employed my thoughts. These related to the sensations which might be excited in Mr. Pinckney, and to those which may be excited in the people of our country. To wound unnecessarily a valuable and meritorious officer, as Mr. Pinckney is, may be affirmed to be a public mischief. But this will not be the case, I hope. He will admit, that on great occasions, such missions are often instituted; that they are never interpreted by the diplomatic world as a disparagement of the Minister Resident; and that a step of so much *éclat* will rouse the British Court from their profound slumber over our various applications. He may, moreover, receive such declarations of continuing confidence, as to calm little possible inquietudes.

The same kind of considerations will satisfy the animadversions of our citizens. For if a man, the most conspicuous for talents and character, were now the stationary representative of the United States at London, the efficacy of a solemn and special mission may still, upon the foregoing principles, be easily conceived. And yet, the difference between one grade and another is not so powerful as of itself to secure a difference of reception to our demands. The Envoy will be impotent, if he is to carry with him only the language of rhetoric or of menaces, without the power

of revenge. To fulfil the purpose of his creation, he must show that the United States can and will vindicate their rights. But measures of this kind depend on Congress alone, and from them we have the embargo alone. They are employed in discussions leading to these objects. To nominate an Envoy immediately, or until you see the nature and extent of the preparations, may perhaps be to nominate a useless officer; and if, by such a nomination, it is proposed to give a direction to the views and deliberations of Congress, may it not be better to send a message to them, urging them to adopt the preparatory steps, than to run the risk of appointing a gentleman, who, if our state of imbecility is to remain, cannot, except from personal qualities, have more influence than Mr. Pinckney? It would be unusual, too, to expect, by an act done to the Senate in its Executive capacity, that its influence should extend to the other House in its Legislative.

I believe, indeed, that to postpone the nomination, will be attended with two advantages. The one is, that after Congress shall have given nerve to our affairs, the propriety of the mission will no longer be questionable; nor will it require those arguments, which, in the present state of things, will not be sufficiently apparent. The other is, that the person nominated will then be able to decide, whether he would choose to be the missionary, after certain acts of Congress. For example, it might accord with the opinions of some gentlemen to go, with an act of sequestration in their hands.

Notwithstanding the suspension of the nomination, you may perhaps approve of mentioning, in the mean time, your intention eventually to the person whom you contemplate. I must request your instruction,

whether I am to prepare the message to the Senate immediately.

I have the honor, Sir, to be, &c.,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM CHARLES M. THURSTON.

Frederick County, 21 June, 1794.

SIR,

That there is existing at Kentucky a powerful faction for placing that country under the protection of the British Government, and separating from the Union of the States, the most recent intelligence seems to evince, as well private epistolary as other. And further, that this contagion is not confined to a few obscure individuals, but widely diffused through the leading characters of that community, is much to be apprehended, and not without some suspicion of its having penetrated our very camp.

For some days I have been balancing, whether to say thus much to your Excellency, not as a fact, but from information probable and highly worthy of inquiry into; and have delayed it, lest I might be impertinent. But it is a circumstance which may lead to consequences so full of importance, that, whether it be true or ill-founded, or whether notice on the subject already has come to your hands, the occasion, I trust, is such a one as will plead, if not my justification, at least an excuse with your Excellency. My sole motive is a simple and honest one, the safety of our country.

Notwithstanding the professions of the British and Spaniards, the intelligent part of the frontiers, who are friends to Government, are still not without sus-

picious of their designs, and of their connections by the Lakes and Mississippi. May I take, therefore, permission to add, that, in case of invasion or other sudden emergency, no man with us could collect with promptitude, in this quarter, so good and useful a body of effective soldiery, as our old General Morgan; as, from Potomac to South Carolina, the applications to him for services, in expectation of a war, have of late been exceedingly numerous? I have the honor to be, Sir, your most

Obliged, and most obedient, humble servant,
CHARLES M. THURSTON.

FROM JOHN JAY.

(Private.)

London, 23 June, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

On Sunday, the 15th of this month, I arrived here. The next day I made inquiries for Mr. Lear, and was informed that he had gone to Liverpool to embark for America. I asked whether it was probable that letters, sent by the post, would find him still there. The answer was, that it was highly improbable. Under these circumstances, and knowing the jealous attention now paid to letters passing through the post-office, I thought it most advisable to forbear making the experiment, and to return that letter to you.

My letter of this date, to Mr. Randolph, contains an exact account of the present state of the affairs of my mission here. I shall be disappointed if no good result. As yet, the Minister stands entirely un-

committed. From some light circumstances, I incline to believe that our mercantile injuries will be redressed; but how, or how far, I cannot conjecture. My next conference will doubtless place things in more particular and in clearer points of view.

Dr. Gordon has information, which he relies upon, that the posts will not be surrendered, and he authorizes me to tell you so, in confidence. His information does not make so strong an impression on my mind as it does on his. It merits attention; but, in my opinion, is not conclusive. The observations I have hitherto made, induce me to believe that the war with France is popular; and that a war with us would be unpopular. The word Jacobin is here a term of reproach, and used as such among the common people. They who wish the reform of this Government do, I apprehend, wish a certain degree of success to the present French cause, not because they like it, but because they think such success would promote their favorite objects. I often hear gentlemen converse on these subjects, but think it prudent to be reserved. As to their internal parties and divisions, I make it a rule to remain silent.

Your Administration is greatly commended. The idea, entertained by some, of applying private debts to compensate public injuries, alarms and disgusts, and impairs credit. I am anxious to have it in my power to communicate something decisive. As yet, I am entirely satisfied with the Minister. I ought to add, that Mr. Pinckney's conduct relative to me, corresponds with my ideas of delicacy and propriety. With perfect respect, esteem, and attachment, I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN JAY.

P. S. The inclosed copies of a note of the 19th instant, from Lord Grenville, and of my answer, afford indications of his present temper that will not escape you. It is always useful to communicate such papers, but seldom useful to publish them. Publications, unnecessarily and frequently made, naturally increase reserve and circumspection to such a degree as, in great measure, to exclude confidence and conversation, and to confine negotiation to the slow and weary mode of written communications; written, too, under the impression and expectation of publication.

FROM WILLIAM BRADFORD, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

5 July, 1794.

SIR,

I have paid attention to the note of the 30th ultimo, with which you have honored me; and, although my first impressions were in favor of the measure suggested, yet a further consideration of it has excited doubts of its expediency.

Mr. Jay's instructions were to sound the Ministers of Denmark and Sweden, with a view of learning the disposition of their respective Courts to support the right of neutral navigation. The object of this seems to have been to ascertain how far we might depend upon their concurrence and aid, if it should become necessary for us to protect, by force of arms, that freedom of navigation which the universal law of nations permits to neutral powers. In order to secure their coöperation, and induce them to coincide with our views, it might have been necessary for the United States to have entered into strict engage-

ments, and made a common cause with them, however inexpedient it might have been for this country to involve herself, in connections of this nature, with the European powers. But this necessity cannot now arise. We know the determination of Sweden and Denmark. If circumstances shall demand it, America may coöperate with them, without any formal Convention, and, at the same time, be at liberty to adopt such measures as future exigencies may require.

It is probable that, before any instructions could reach Europe, the British Court will either have recognized the rights of neutral navigation, or that reprisals will have issued, and war be commenced. In the first case, the general principle will no doubt extend itself to us; or, if a partial arrangement takes place between Great Britain and those two northern powers, we cannot expect any coöperation from them. On the contrary, if war should take place in consequence of the determination of those powers to make reprisals, it will then be competent to the United States to coöperate in that war, without embarrassing themselves with any formal engagements. How far the Executive could constitutionally engage, that the United States should take part in a war actually begun, may be doubtful; and, as the event of Mr. Jay's negotiation cannot be known long before the meeting of Congress, the subject (if a war should have taken place) would perhaps come more properly before that body, in whom the right of declaring war is vested.

Mr. Pinckney has intimated, that there is a disposition in the British Court to make a real, if not an avowed, discrimination between the navigation of the United States and that of the northern European powers. If this should be actually made, it will be a question of much delicacy, how far this country

ought to interfere, the decision of which the President, perhaps, ought not to delegate to any person whatsoever.

Upon the whole, I incline to think that the measure proposed is not expedient at present; but it is not without some hesitation that I form this opinion.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

FROM GOVERNOR LEE.

Norfolk, 3 September, 1794.

SIR,

Although I have had near two days to reflect on the purport of the letter received from the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 1st instant, I confess I am not yet relieved from the agitation of mind produced by that communication.

My grief for the necessity of pointing the bayonet against the breasts of our countrymen, is equalled only by my conviction of the wisdom of your decision to compel immediate submission to the authority of the laws, and by my own apprehensions of my inadequacy to the trust you have been pleased to honor me with. I never expected to see so strange a crisis; much less to be called to the command of an army, on the judicious direction of which may perhaps depend our national existence. But being ready to give my aid on the awful occasion, I was willing to take any part in the measures you might think proper to order for quelling the insurrection, without regard to rank or station.*

* Alluding to the insurrection in the western parts of Pennsylvania.

The honor you have fixed to my name, by the late signal testimony of your approbation and confidence, impresses me with every feeling which the most affectionate gratitude can inspire. I will bestow, invariably, the whole power of my mind and body, to give the most propitious effect to your wishes. If success attends my endeavours, I shall be happy indeed. If the reverse happens, I shall be truly miserable to the last hour of my life; because I shall attribute the public misfortunes which must ensue to my own incapacity, however strenuous and faithful may have been my efforts.

With these feelings, you will readily anticipate the keen solicitude I must momentarily experience to prepare myself for the fulfilment of the duties expected from me. I cannot so certainly or so easily do this, as with you. If, then, the appeal expected be inevitable (which I pray Heaven may still avert), let me entreat you to call me to you at once. A thousand things will occur relative to the army and its objects, which I ought to understand in time; and I ought also to make myself acquainted with the temper of the insurgents, the characters and views of their leaders, and with the country in which the troops are to act. With most affectionate attachment and entire respect, I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant,

HENRY LEE.

FROM JOHN JAY.

(Private.)

London, 13 September, 1794.

DEAR SIR,

My letter to Mr. Randolph, which accompanies this, contains very full and accurate information respecting our negotiations here. You will perceive that many parts are under consideration, and that alterations will probably yet take place in several articles. Although it is uncertain, yet it is not altogether improbable, that Lord Grenville and myself may agree on terms which, in my opinion, should not be rejected. In that case I shall be strongly induced to conclude, rather than, by delays, risk a change of views and measures or Ministers, which unforeseen circumstances might occasion.

The Secretary's letter by Mr. Monroe, and the speech of the latter to the Convention, are printed; and have caused a disagreeable sensation in the public mind here, and probably in that of the Government. The one written by you is spoken of as being within the limits of diplomatic forms. Gentlemen, whether in or out of office, are doubtless free in their personal affections or predilections for persons or nations. But, as the situation of the United States is neutral, so also should be their language to the belligerent powers. Neither can it be proper to adopt any mode of pleasing one party, that would naturally be offensive to the other; and more particularly at a time when, with that other, a negotiation for peace, commerce, and friendship is pending. To be fair, upright, and prudent, is to be politic; and of the truth of this maxim, your character, and very singu-

lar degree of respectability, weight, and reputation, afford the strongest proof.

I learn that Virginia is escheating British property; and I hear of other occurrences that I regret. But they shall not abate my perseverance in endeavouring to preserve peace, and bring the negotiation to such a conclusion as will either insure peace with this country, or produce union among ourselves in prosecuting war against it. Whatever may be the issue, I am determined not to lose the only satisfaction that I can be sure of; namely, the satisfaction resulting from a consciousness of having done my duty. That attempts will be made, in America, to frustrate this negotiation, I have not the most distant shadow of a doubt. I brought that belief and opinion with me; and my dependence then was, and still is, on the wisdom, firmness, and integrity of the Government; on the general good sense of our people; and on those enlightened and virtuous characters among them, who regard the peace, honor, and welfare of their country as primary objects. These men regret the differences which subsist between this country and their own; and sincerely desire to see mutual animosities give way to mutual good will. As to a political connection with any country, I hope it will never be judged necessary; for I very much doubt whether it would ultimately be found useful. On the contrary, it would, in my opinion, introduce foreign influence, which I consider as the worst of political plagues. With the best wishes for your health and happiness, and with perfect respect, esteem and attachment, I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient, and obliged servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM EDMUND RANDOLPH, SECRETARY OF STATE.

(Private.)

Philadelphia, 11 o'clock, 8 October, 1794.

SIR,

I was honored by your private letter of the 6th instant, about half an hour ago ; and immediately delivered to Mrs. Washington the one addressed to her.

Mr. Butler and Mr. Brown, of the Senate, called to learn the intelligence from Europe. I considered their title to read the despatches as being no better than that of other men ; and I told them, verbally, only what I have told others. With the former gentleman some discussion arose how far the Senate might call for the papers relative to the negotiation ; but he did not, however, apply the remark to himself as an individual. I cut the matter short, by observing that he knew my opinion to be that the President was bound, in duty, and possessed the right, to withhold whatsoever he thought improper to be communicated. I could not help asking, at the same time, whether the example of Mr. Edwards, which I mentioned to you in a late letter, did not prove that Senators could disclose secrets as well as other folks.

There is nothing so little talked of as the yellow fever. I believe that I am almost the only inquirer after it ; and those to whom I address myself, seem to take time to recollect themselves, as if the subject was a perfect stranger to their memory. General Knox is with me ; and we shall have ready, for the express of Monday, the analysis of an address to Congress. Mrs. Washington and family were well this morning.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the highest respect and affectionate attachment,

Your most obedient servant,

EDMUND RANDOLPH.

FROM GENERAL MORGAN.*

Camp, McFarley's Ferry, December, 1794.

SIR,

You will see, by a return made to the War Office of the troops left under my command for winter defence, their strength and situation. The business of recruiting was put off too late; had it been put in practice a week sooner, we could have engaged the number of men called for, without difficulty. When I was informed of the deficiency, I intended to have made up the number wanting in this country, but have been so very busy, trying to cover ourselves from the inclemency of the approaching season, that I have not made the experiment; and am afraid, when we do, that the pay will be an obstacle; and the clothing is not a sufficient inducement, as the people here don't like to wear that kind of clothing.

I have some officers out trying to recruit at this time, but have had no report from them. Any number of cavalry could be raised here; but my own opinion is, that a great many men will be unnecessary for this service, as the alarm that these people have experienced is so great, that they will never forget it so far as to fly in the face of the law again. I am dealing very gently with them, and am becom-

* General Morgan commanded a division of the militia raised for suppressing the insurrection in Pennsylvania.

ing very popular, for which I am very happy; as it has been my opinion, from the first of this business, that we ought to make these people our friends, if we could do so without lessening the dignity of Government, which, in my opinion, ought to be supported at any risk. Several of the outlyers have come in within a few days, and delivered themselves to me. I have let them go on parole, with orders to come to me when called for. I expect this kind of treatment will bring in the whole, except Madford, the tinker, and one or two others. The names of those that have delivered themselves to me, are as follows;—Arthur Gardner; George Parker; Ebenezer Golohan, who broke out of jail at Pittsburg; John Colecraft, who broke away from the guard coming up the river; and John Mitchell, who robbed the mail. Those characters I will deliver, when and where I am directed; convinced, as I am, that they won't go off. And I think I shall have the people of this country in better order than their fellow-citizens in and about Carlisle, &c., which will give pleasure.

Some of the people in this country, but their number very inconsiderable, seem to be obstinate, and hesitate very much about taking the oath to Government, alleging that they have already taken an oath to Government, which, they say, they have not violated, and will not take another; that, if compelled to do it, they will not think it binding upon them. I wish to know what is to be done with characters of this description.

I will thank you for the outlines of the conduct that you would wish me to pursue in future. John Colecraft, who gave himself up to me, is the Old Tinker himself, and not he that broke from the guard coming up the river. Benjamin Parkeson and Dan

Hambleton will be in to-morrow; at least they have so informed me.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL MORGAN.

FROM THOMAS PINCKNEY.*

London, 30 January, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

In a letter, which I have lately received from the Secretary of State, I am desired to make such arrangements as may be necessary, previous to a mission which you have prepared for me as Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Spain. Although, from a knowledge of the extent of your unavoidable correspondence, and of the value of your moments, I have generally avoided addressing you directly, yet, while I officially express my readiness to undertake a business in which you think I may be of utility, I cannot refrain from thus assuring you, that I trust I feel the full import of the kindness and delicacy of this proceeding, as it personally concerns myself; and I beg leave to add the expression of the true respect and grateful attachment, with which I am, &c.,

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

* Mr. Pinckney was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States at London, January 12th, 1792; and Envoy Extraordinary to Spain, November 24th, 1794.

FROM OLIVER WOLCOTT, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

Philadelphia, 4 February, 1795.

SIR,

I have been informed, through the Secretary of State, that you have been pleased to appoint me to the office of Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. It is with real diffidence that I undertake to discharge the important duties incident to this appointment. Yet if constant exertions and strict fidelity can compensate for such qualifications as I may not possess, I indulge a hope that my services will receive your approbation.

But whatever may be the effect of my endeavours in respect to my own reputation, and the interests confided to my care, I beg leave to assure you, that this distinguished token of confidence will never fail to excite in my breast lively sentiments of respect and gratitude.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

OLIVER WOLCOTT, JR.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Monticello, 23 February, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

You were formerly deliberating on the purpose to which you should apply the shares in the Potomac and James River Companies, presented you by our Assembly; and you did me the honor of asking me to think on the subject. As well as I remember, some academical institution was thought to offer the

best application of the money. Should you have finally decided in favor of this, a circumstance has taken place which would render the present moment the most advantageous to carry it into execution, by giving to it, in the outset, such an *éclat*, and such solid advantages, as would insure a very general concurrence to it of the youths from all our States, and probably from the other parts of America which are free enough to adopt it.

The revolution, which has taken place at Geneva, has demolished the College of that place, which was in a great measure supported by the former Government. The Colleges of Geneva and Edinburgh were considered as the two eyes of Europe, in matters of science, insomuch that no other pretended to any rivalry with either. Edinburgh has been the most famous in medicine, during the life of Cullen; but Geneva most so in the other branches of science, and much the most resorted to from the Continent of Europe, because the French language was that which was used. M. D'Ivernois, a Genevan, and man of science, known as the author of a history of that republic, has proposed the transplanting that College, in a body, to America. He has written to me on the subject, as he has also done to Mr. Adams, as he was formerly known to us both, giving us the details of his views for effecting it. Probably these have been communicated to you by Mr. Adams, as D'Ivernois desired should be done. But, lest they should not have been communicated, I will take the liberty of doing it. His plan, I think, would go to about ten or twelve Professorships. He names to me the following Professors, as likely, if not certain, to embrace the plan.

Mouchon, the present President, who wrote the ana-

lytical table for the Encyclopedists, which sufficiently proves his comprehensive science.

Pictet, known from his admeasurement of a degree, and other works, Professor of natural philosophy.

His brother, said by M. D'Ivernois to be also great.

Senebier, author of Commentaries on Spallanzani, and of other works in natural philosophy and meteorology; also, the translator of the Greek Tragedians.

Bertrand and L'Houllier, both mathematicians, and said to be inferior to nobody in that line, except La Grange, who is without an equal.

Prevost, highly spoken of by D'Ivernois.

De Saussure and his son, formerly a Professor, but who left the college to have more leisure to pursue his geological researches into the Alps, by which work he is very advantageously known.

Most of these are said to speak our language well. Of these persons, the names of Mouchon, Pictet, De Saussure, and Senebier, are well known to me, as standing foremost among the literati of Europe. Secrecy having been necessary, this plan had, as yet, been concerted only with Pictet, his brother, and Prevost, who knew, however, from circumstances, that the others would join them; and I think it very possible, that the revolution in France may have put it in our power to associate La Grange with them, whose modest and diffident character will probably have kept him in the rear of the revolutionary principles, which have been the ground on which the revolutionists of Geneva have discarded their Professors. Most of these are men having families, and therefore, M. D'Ivernois observes, they cannot come over but on sure grounds. He proposes a revenue of fifteen thousand dollars for the whole institution; and, supposing lands could be appropriated to this object, he

says that an hundred Genevan families can readily be found, who will purchase, and settle on the lands, and deposit for them the capital, of which fifteen thousand dollars would be the interest. In this revenue he means to comprehend a College of languages, preparatory to the principal one of sciences; and also a third College, for the gratuitous teaching of the poor, reading and writing.

It could not be expected that any propositions from strangers, unacquainted with our means and our wants, could jump at once into a perfect accommodation with these. But those presented to us would serve to treat on, and are capable of modifications reconcilable, perhaps, to the views of both parties.

1. We can well dispense with his second and third Colleges, the last being too partial for an extensive country, and the second sufficiently, and better, provided for already, by our public and private grammar schools. I should conjecture that this would reduce one third of his demand of revenue, and that ten thousand dollars would then, probably, answer their remaining views, which are the only important ones to us.

2. We are not to count on raising the money from lands, and, consequently, we must give up the proposal of the colony of Genevan farmers. But the wealth of Geneva, in money, being notorious, and the class of monied men being that which the new Government are trying to get rid of, it is probable that a capital sum could be borrowed, on the credit of the funds under consideration, sufficient to meet the first expenses of the transportation and establishment, and to supply, also, the deficiency of revenue, till the profits of the shares shall become sufficiently superior to the annual support of the College, to repay the sums borrowed.

3. The composition of the Academy cannot be settled, then. It must be adapted to our circumstances, and can, therefore, only be fixed between them and persons here acquainted with those circumstances, and conferring for the purpose after their arrival here. For a country so marked for agriculture as ours, I should think no Professorship so important as one not mentioned by them, a Professor of Agriculture, who, before the students should leave College, should carry them through a course of lectures on the principles and practice of agriculture; and that this Professor should come from no country but England. Indeed, I should mark Young as the man to be obtained. These, however, are modifications to be left till their arrival here.

M. D'Ivernois observes, that the Professors keep themselves disengaged till the ensuing spring, attending an answer. As he had desired his proposition to be made to our Legislature, I accordingly got a member to sound as many of his brethren on the subject as he could, desiring, if he found it would be desperate, that he would not commit the honor either of that body or of the College of Geneva, by forcing an open act of rejection. I received his information only a fortnight ago, that the thing was evidently impracticable. I immediately forwarded that information to D'Ivernois, not giving him an idea that there was any other resource. Thinking, however, that if you should conclude to apply the revenues of the canal shares to any institution of this kind, so fortunate an outset could never again be obtained, I have supposed it my duty, both to you and them, to submit the circumstances to your consideration.

A question would arise as to the place of the establishment. As far as I can learn, it is thought just

that the State, which gives the revenue, should be most considered in the uses to which it is appropriated. But I suppose that their expectations would be satisfied by a location within their limits, and that this might be so far from the Federal City as moral considerations would recommend, and yet near enough to it to be viewed as an appendage of that, and that the splendor of the two objects would reflect usefully on each other.

Circumstances have already consumed much of the time allowed us. Should you think the proposition can be brought at all within your views, your determination, as soon as more important occupations will admit of it, would require to be conveyed as early as possible to M. D'Ivernois, now in London, lest my last letter should throw the parties into other engagements. I will not trespass on your time and attention, by adding to this lengthy letter any thing further than assurances of the high esteem and regard, with which

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM JOHN JAY.

(Private.)

London, 25 February, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

Your very friendly letter of the 1st of November last, gratified me not a little. The insurrection had caused disagreeable sensations in this country. The objects and efforts of the Jacobin societies in America were known here, and the fate of our Government was considered as being involved in that of the in-

sururrection. The manner in which it has terminated has given sincere satisfaction to this Government, to whom all disorganizing innovations give alarm. Their confidence in your wisdom, decision, and energy, has been confirmed by the event. The institution and influence of such societies among us had given me much concern; and I was happy in perceiving that the suppression of the insurrection, together with the character and fall of similar ones in France, would probably operate the extinction of these mischievous associations in America.

Your remarks relative to my negotiations, are just and kind. I assure you, nothing on my part has been wanting to render the conclusion of them as consonant as was possible to your expectations and wishes. Perfectly apprised both of my duty and responsibility, I determined not to permit my judgment to be influenced by any considerations but those of public good, under the direction of my instructions. I knew, and know, that no attainable settlement or treaty would give universal satisfaction; and I am far from expecting that the one I have signed will not administer occasion for calumny and detraction. These are evils which they who serve the people, will always meet with. Demagogues will constantly flatter the passions and prejudices of the multitude, and will never cease to employ improper arts against those who will not be their instruments. I have known many demagogues, but I have never known one honest man among them. These are among the evils which are incident to human life; and none of them shall induce me to decline or abandon pursuits in which I may conceive it to be my duty to embark or persevere. All creatures will act according to their nature, and it would be absurd to expect that a man

who is not upright, will act like one that is. The time will come when all books, and histories, and errors will be consumed, and when, from their ashes, truth only will rise, and prevail, and be immortal.

I observe, from Mr. Randolph's letters, that certain articles of the treaty will be considered as more objectionable than they appear to me. Before answers to his letters could arrive, its fate will be decided. If it should be ratified, additional articles may be negotiated, and defects supplied, and explanations made. If it should not be ratified, I presume explicit instructions will be immediately sent to me on the points in question, and I will do my best endeavours to adjust them accordingly.

You will herewith receive a large packet containing papers and letters; the former, from Sir John Sinclair. The printed papers, inclosed with this letter, I transmit by the desire of Sir John Dalrymple. You will also find herewith inclosed a copy of an unofficial letter to me from Lord Grenville, and a copy of the memorial mentioned in it. I have added a printed report respecting Sierra Leone. The information it contains may be new and agreeable to you.

Among my despatches to Mr. Randolph, by this ship, is a copy of a letter I have received from Mr. Monroe, at Paris, and of two which I have written to him. The expediency of correcting the mistakes, which the French Convention seem to have imbibed, will doubtless strike you. From the last of my two letters to Mr. Monroe, you will remark, that Colonel Trumbull is going to Stutgard with my consent. His presence there is necessary about some plates, which an engraver there has nearly finished for him.

Be pleased to present my best compliments to Mrs.

Washington; and be assured of the perfect respect, esteem, and attachment with which I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged and affectionate servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM GENERAL MORGAN.

Camp, McFarley's, 9 April, 1795.

SIR,

I was honored with your letter of the 27th ultimo, and for the hints it contains I return you my thanks. Your approbation of my conduct, and that of the army under my command, affords me peculiar satisfaction, which is heightened by the coincidence of opinion between us relative to the intention for which an army was stationed in this country.

To impress upon the army a due respect for the laws, and urge the necessity of an uninterrupted harmony existing between them and the citizens, was my first care, and what I have uniformly practised. To promote this good understanding I found rather an arduous task, owing, not so much to a licentiousness in the troops, as to an unaccommodating disposition in the people, which I find but too prevalent among a great part of this community. In my absence, while attending the election in Berkley and Frederick, some little bickering took place, and some suits were brought by certain individuals against a part of the army; the cause of which, in my opinion, was trifling in itself, and such as reflects highly on those who instituted them.

Mr. B., I am well informed, was the person who advised, nay, urged, those suits to be brought. This man I consider as a bad member of society, and who

will, I fear, do all in his power to foment disturbances in this country. It is a flattering consideration, however, notwithstanding these things, that I have it in my power to observe, that affairs in general are in a promising train. It shall be my endeavour to settle all disputes as amicably as possible. I have, since my return to camp, terminated some, and the others are in a fair way. I will use every precaution to prevent such misunderstandings taking place in future.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

DANIEL MORGAN.

FROM ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Clermont, 8 July, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

Possessing no official situation, which entitles me to offer my sentiments on political measures, I may possibly be deemed intrusive when I offer my unasked advice. But, Sir, feeling the same ardent love for my country, which has so frequently, in times of danger and difficulty, served as an apology for my letters, I still presume, without any other than that which arises from my solicitude, in the present alarming situation of our affairs, to offer you the unbiased sentiments of a citizen, whose whole life has been employed in endeavouring to understand, and, as far as in him lay, in promoting the interests of his country; of one, who considers your glory as closely connected with that interest, and who views the present as a favorable moment to place it above the reach of party violence, and to procure to yourself a second

time, by the common consent of America, the endearing appellation of the saviour of your country.

In my present retired situation, I have carefully read and considered the treaty with England. I see in it not the slightest satisfaction for our wrongs. I see them, in some instances, authorized. In the commercial part, I see articles, which, though professing to be mutual, are in no sort reciprocal. I see a want of precision in many, which may involve us in frequent disputes. But, above all, I dread, in the ratification of the treaty, an immediate rupture with France, where (as I am informed by letters from thence) the very apprehension has already excited very disagreeable sensations. To discuss these points, or even to dwell on the construction which France may put on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth articles, would be an unnecessary waste of your time, since the objections to them could not have escaped your discernment; and they may possibly admit of a construction variant from that, which they at first view appear to carry with them. But, at any rate, they were unnecessary, and peculiarly improper at the present moment.

There are two other articles which, though less pointed at, France can hardly, in my opinion, consider as much short of a direct declaration of hostilities. By the twenty-seventh article, it is expressly admitted that enemies' property, on board of American ships, is liable to capture. This is, at least, a question of considerable doubt, since the general assent of civilized nations to the principle of the armed neutrality, Britain alone dissenting. And surely this was a very improper moment to turn that doubt into a certainty, to the injury of ourselves and our allies. By the latter part of the twelfth article, this question, it seems,

is again to be revived, within two years *after the war*. Now, as this question is capable of discussion as well at this as at any future time, and as it depends in no sort upon the war, what other construction can France possibly put upon this delay than a tacit agreement between us and Britain to aid her, even at our own expense, in her determined hostility to that Republic, while we were availing ourselves of a contrary principle to protect the property of her rival?

This argument derives additional force from the eighteenth article, which, notwithstanding what we have suffered from the British construction of siege and blockade, leaves it still undefined, and, of course, agreeably to a known principle of the law of nations (Vat. 2d lib. 27th cap.), acquiesces in their absurd and unlimited constructions, and enables them, as I am just informed they have done, to renew their attempt to starve France and her Colonies. In our treaty with France, tar, turpentine, cordage, masts, sails, plank, &c., are expressly declared not to be contraband. By this treaty, all these articles are made contraband. Upon what principle can France suppose that we entered into this stipulation at this time, and in the very face of our proclamation, by which you refer to the modern law of nations for a just definition of the word contraband, unless it were to distress them?

Pardon me, Sir, on the score of my solicitude for the peace and welfare of my country, if I intrude upon your time and patience. I dread a war with France, as the signal for a civil war at home. She can, and I greatly fear that she will, should the treaty be ratified, compel us to enter the lists by claiming the effect of our guaranty of the Islands. Rent, as our country unhappily is, by parties, nothing

but personal consideration for your virtues can attach the public confidence to the measures of Government; nothing but your glory can save, under these circumstances, the honor of our nation.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

FROM THOMAS RUSSELL.

Boston, 13 August, 1795.

SIR,

I have the honor and the pleasure to inclose to you a copy of the dissent of a number of the citizens of Boston, to the doings of the town, at their late meeting relative to the treaty with Britain; and also a copy of the proceedings of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, upon the same subject.

The instrument of dissent was designed only to collect the sentiments of the merchants and traders, provisionally, not for the purpose of attempting to influence or interfere with the measures of Government. But, having been represented in the public newspapers and other ways, as approving the resolutions of the town at that meeting, the merchants and others, whose names are thereto subscribed, deem it expedient now to transmit to you, Sir, that instrument, with their names, together with the resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce.

From these documents they presume it will most fully appear, that the general disposition of the merchants of Boston is not to reprobate, but to approve of the decision of the Executive of the Union, upon that important subject, as wise and prudent, in the

present critical state of affairs. With the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

THOMAS RUSSELL.

FROM EDWARD CARRINGTON.

Richmond, 6 December, 1795.

DEAR SIR,

On the 20th ultimo, I did myself the honor to communicate to you the result of a proposition in the lower House of Assembly here, approving the vote of the two Senators from this State against the treaty; and, at the same time, took pleasure in mentioning the decorum observed during the debate respecting yourself and the ratifying Senators. On the next day, however, the active persons of the party, presuming on the decided turn which they supposed had been fixed in favor of their views, unveiled themselves, and carried, in the House, some points very extraordinary indeed, manifesting disrespect towards you. It is highly probable you may have seen the proceedings in the public papers.

The result of these proceedings, together with the original vote of approbation, went to the Senate; the approving vote was there concurred in, with an immaterial amendment; but a very decided discountenance was put on the other proceeding, by an amendment totally reversing its aspect. By this time it was observed, that many in the lower House had become dissatisfied with their former conduct, and, when the amendment came down, the zealots of anarchy were backward to act on it, while the friends of order were satisfied to let it remain for further effects

of reflection. On the 4th instant, the amendment of the Senate was taken up and carried by a majority of seventy-eight against sixty-two; and I believe that on the same question now, the majority would be much greater. The fever has raged, come to its crisis, and is abating.

As evidence that the temper of the people at large is not such as our members in Congress will probably exhibit an appearance of, references may be had to the consequences of insidious attempts to get signed, through the country, some seditious petitions, which were sent in vast numbers from Philadelphia. These petitions were at first patronized with great zeal, by many of our distinguished anarchists; but, from the best intelligence I can get, I am satisfied that very few copies will be sent to Congress fully signed. After a very short time they were viewed with contempt, in most places. I think this information is correct. A short time will show how far it is so, as it is not to be doubted that all the copies will be laid before Congress, which are but tolerably signed.

It will be no new intelligence to you to be informed, that several of our members of Congress have been the most active in endeavours to dissatisfy the people with the treaty, and other measures of administration, which have saved us from war, foreign dependence, and domestic wretchedness. My hope is that, from the other States in the Union, better dispositions will be met on that floor, where the great republican principle is perhaps to be put to trial; for, if it really turns out that, in any one of the branches of Government, resentment against one nation, or love for another, is to supersede a calm consideration of our own interests and happiness, a dependence, utterly inconsistent with freedom, must be the result.

Let it once be ascertained that the people of the United States are incapable of self-government, and where else can it be tried again? I trust and believe they will preserve the sacred principle. I have the honor to be, with great affection, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EDWARD CARRINGTON.

FROM JOHN JAY.

(Private.)

New York, 26 January, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

The British ratification of the treaty not having arrived, and consequently the time for appointing the Commissioners mentioned in it not being come, I have thus long postponed replying to yours of the 21st of last month. It certainly is important that the Commissioners relative to the debts, and also the captures, be men the best qualified for those places. Probably it would be advisable to appoint one lawyer and one merchant for each of them. The capture cases are to be decided in London. From much that I have heard, and the little I have observed of Mr. Higginson, of Boston, I am induced to think him, as a merchant, the best qualified of any I am acquainted with; and the mass of the captures being from the Eastern and Middle States, it perhaps would be most satisfactory that the Commissioners should be from those countries. With him I should be inclined to join Mr. King, or Mr. Dexter, or perhaps Mr. Smith, of South Carolina.

For the debts, it seems to me best to take some

sensible merchant, north of the Potomac, and particularly of Philadelphia, if one of acknowledged weight and character could be found willing to serve. If not, I should think of Colonel Wadsworth, or some other like him; and associate with him Judge Paterson, or Mr. Benson, or Mr. Marshall.

I am really very much at a loss about Sir John Sinclair's plan. It pleases me, and I wish that our country would offer bounties for useful discoveries, wherever made. Perhaps no inconveniences could arise from recommending such a measure to Congress, in general terms, without having any reference to Great Britain. But even this, I think, had better be postponed until the treaty business shall have been despatched. With perfect esteem and attachment, I am, dear Sir,

Your obliged and affectionate servant,

JOHN JAY.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

Boston, 28 January, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR,

I cannot refrain from trespassing on your time, by expressing to you the perfect satisfaction, which the people of New England possess, by the operations of the General Government. The unanimity of the Legislature of this State was such, as to overbear all dispositions of a disorganizing nature. Had the Legislature conceived it proper, or Constitutional, they would have expressed their approbation in the highest degree. But they conceived this would be a two-edged sword. Mr. Adams, the Governor, may console himself with his good intentions, but he has no

credit for them in the opinion of the wise and enlightened part of his countrymen.

The whole country, from Maryland to New Hampshire inclusively, may be considered as a phalanx of good order and attachment to the administration of the General Government. A conviction of the existence of this disposition, and the most cordial affection to you, must afford you sensations of satisfaction which are inexpressible, especially after the gloomy threatenings of anarchy, which prevailed but in too many places the last summer. May this satisfaction never be clouded for a moment!

I am, with perfect attachment, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM CHARLES LEE, ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Sunday, 20 March, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

I have very little doubt, that Mr. John Marshall would not act as a Commissioner under the treaty with Great Britain, for deciding on the claims of creditors. I have been long acquainted with his private affairs, and I think it almost impossible for him to undertake that office. If he would, I know not any objection that subsists against him. First, he is not a debtor. Secondly, he cannot be benefited or injured by any decision of the Commissioners. Thirdly, his being employed as counsel, in suits of that kind, furnishes no reasonable objection; nor do I know of any opinions that he has published, or professes, that might, with a view to impartiality, make him liable to be objected to.

Mr. Marshall is at the head of his profession, in

Virginia, enjoying every convenience and comfort; in the midst of his friends and the relations of his wife at Richmond; in a practice of his profession that annually produces about five thousand dollars on an average; with a young and increasing family; and under a degree of necessity to continue his profession, for the purpose of complying with contracts, not yet performed.

I think it probable that Colonel Innes would accept of this appointment. Of him I cannot speak with as much certainty as I have done of Mr. Marshall; but I believe he is neither a debtor nor a creditor; that he will not be benefited nor injured by any decision of the Commissioners; nor do I know of any opinions that he professes or has published, that would make his impartiality be suspected. He and Mr. B. Randolph married sisters; and, though Mr. B. R. is himself clear of British debts, there are some of his relations much involved. This circumstance affords, in my mind, no just objection to the appointment of Colonel Innes; and the only one, which I can think of, is his reluctance to business and want of diligence. As the Commissioners will have a Clerk, and sit as Judges, I suppose he will, if he undertakes this office, be sufficiently active for its duties.

I am, &c.,

CHARLES LEE.

FROM THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Monticello, 19 June, 1796.

SIR,

In Bache's Aurora, of the 9th instant, which came here by the last post, a paper appears, which, having been confided, as I presume, to but few hands, makes

it truly wonderful how it should have got there. I cannot be satisfied, as to my own part, till I relieve my mind by declaring (and I attest every thing sacred and honorable to the declaration), that it has got there neither through me nor the paper confided to me. This has never been from under my own lock and key, or out of my own hands. No mortal ever knew, from me, that these questions had been proposed. Perhaps I ought to except one person, who possesses all my confidence, as he has possessed yours. I do not remember, indeed, that I communicated it even to him. But, as I was in the habit of unlimited trust and counsel with him, it is possible I may have read it to him—no more; for the quire, of which it makes a part, was never in any hand but my own, nor was a word ever copied or taken down from it by any body. I take on myself, without fear, any divulgation on his part. We both know him incapable of it.

From myself, then, or my paper, this publication has never been derived. I have formerly mentioned to you, that, from a very early period of my life, I had laid it down as a rule of conduct, never to write a word for the public papers. From this I have never departed, in a single instance; and on a late occasion, when all the world seemed to be writing, besides a rigid adherence to my own rule, I can say, with truth, that not a line for the press was ever communicated to me by any other, except a single petition, referred for my correction; which I did not correct, however, though the contrary, as I have heard, was said in a public place, by one person through error; through malice, by another. I learn that this last has thought it worth his while to try to sow tares between you and me, by representing

me as still engaged in the bustle of politics, and in turbulence and intrigue against the Government. I never believed, for a moment, that this could make any impression on you, or that your knowledge of me would not overweigh the slander of an intriguer, dirtily employed in sifting the conversations of my table, where alone he could hear of me; and seeking to atone for his sins against you by sins against another, who had never done him any other injury than that of declining his confidences.

Political conversations I really dislike, and therefore avoid, where I can, without affectation. But, when urged by others, I have never conceived that having been in public life requires me to belie my sentiments, or even to conceal them. When I am led by conversation to express them, I do it with the same independence here, which I have practised every where, and which is inseparable from my nature. But enough of this miserable tergiversator, who ought, indeed, either to have been of more truth, or less trusted by his country.

While on the subject of papers, permit me to ask one from you. You remember the difference of opinion between Hamilton and Knox, on the one part, and myself on the other, on the subject of firing on the Little Sarah, and that we had exchanged opinions and reasons in writing. On your arrival in Philadelphia, I delivered you a copy of my reasons, in the presence of Colonel Hamilton. On our withdrawing, he told me he had been so much engaged that he had not been able to prepare a copy of his and General Knox's for you; and that, if I would send you the one he had given me, he would replace it in a few days. I immediately sent it to you, wishing you should see both sides of the sub-

ject together. I often after applied to both the gentlemen, but could never obtain another copy. I have often thought of asking this one, or a copy of it, back from you, but have not before written on subjects of this kind to you. Though I do not know that it will ever be of the least importance to me, yet one loves to possess arms, though they hope never to have occasion for them. They possess my paper, in my own handwriting. It is just, I should possess theirs. The only thing amiss is, that they should have left me to seek a return of the paper, or a copy of it, from you.

I put away this disgusting dish of old fragments, and talk to you of my pease and clover. As to the latter article, I have great encouragement from the friendly nature of our soil. I think I have had, both the last and present year, as good clover from common grounds, which had brought several crops of wheat and corn, without ever having been manured, as I ever saw on the lots around Philadelphia. I verily believe, that a field of thirty-four acres, sowed on wheat, April was a twelvemonth, has given me a ton to the acre, at its first cutting, this spring. The stalks, extended, measured three and a half feet long very commonly. Another field, a year older, and which yielded as well last year, has sensibly fallen off this year. My exhausted fields bring a clover not high enough for hay; but I hope to make seed from it. Such as these, however, I shall hereafter put into pease, in the broadcast, proposing that one of my sowings of wheat shall be after two years of clover, and the other after two years of pease. I am trying the white boiling pea of Europe (the Albany pea) this year, till I can get the hog pea of England, which is the most productive of all.

But the true winter-vetch is what we want extremely. I have tried this year the Caroline drill. It is absolutely perfect. Nothing can be more simple, or perform its office more perfectly for a single row. I shall try to make one to sow four rows at a time of wheat or pease, at twelve inches distance. I have one of the Scotch threshing-machines nearly finished. It is copied exactly from a model of one Mr. Pinckney sent me, only that I have put the whole works, except the horse-wheel, into a single frame, movable from one field to another on the two axles of a wagon. It will be ready in time for the harvest which is coming on, which will give it a full trial. Our wheat and rye are generally fine, and the prices talked of bid fair to indemnify us for the poor crops of the two last years.

I take the liberty of putting under your cover a letter to the son of the Marquis de Lafayette, not exactly knowing where to direct to him. With very affectionate compliments to Mrs. Washington, I have the honor to be, with great and sincere esteem and respect, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING, SECRETARY OF STATE.

Department of State, 27 July, 1796.

SIR,

On the 25th I received letters from Colonel Humphreys, dated April 30th, May 30th, and June 1st, accompanied by a large packet from Mr. Barlow, at Algiers. The substance of the information respecting the pending treaty with Algiers is, that Mr. Donald-

son had gone to Leghorn, with orders from Mr. Barlow to transmit two hundred thousand dollars to Algiers, which would procure the redemption of our captive citizens; that Mr. Humphreys had sent to Mr. Donaldson, at Leghorn, a letter of credit for four hundred thousand dollars; and, in case he failed of obtaining the half of that sum, Colonel Humphreys authorized Mr. Barlow to draw on Bulkley & Son, at Lisbon, for two hundred thousand dollars, payable at sight, so as to insure the liberation of our prisoners within the three months allowed by the Dey; but with his explicit opinion, that no part of it should be paid unless the captives were released. From these arrangements, it seems to me highly probable that our fellow-citizens will now recover their liberty; and that the payment of the gross sum of two hundred thousand dollars will so far soothe the Dey, as to prolong his patience until the original stipulations, and the new one for the frigate, can be accomplished.

Although the Dey's disappointment in not receiving the stipulated sums on Mr. Barlow's arrival, put him into so violent a rage as to render all applications fruitless, yet, after some days, he sent notice to Mr. Barlow that he was willing to receive him as the Consul of the United States, and desired him to bring his Consular presents. Mr. Barlow readily complied. The presents were distributed to the Dey and his grandees. The Dey, in return, presented Mr. Barlow with a fine Barbary stallion. Cathcart writes that Mr. Barlow gives great satisfaction, and is respected by every one who knows him. This admission of Mr. Barlow as Consul, with the distribution of the Consular presents, cannot fail to have a favorable influence on the affairs of the United States at Algiers, and, from his information of the customary and peri-

odical delivery of Consular presents, it does not appear that it will occasion any material extra expense to the United States.

Mr. Barlow's packet contains long and interesting details of the nature of the Algerine Government, whence results the fickleness of its measures, and its frequent breaches of peace with the Christian States, on the most trifling and unreasonable prettexts. Because the armed vessels of the King of Naples carried into his port a Danish vessel, having on board three hundred and twenty Turkish soldiers, bound from the Levant to Algiers, the Dey ordered his cruisers immediately to bring in all the Danish vessels they could meet with. In a few days, about a dozen were captured and brought in, and their fate remained undecided. Mr. Barlow details divers instances of breaches with other powers; whence he concludes that, on an average, we might count on a renewal of hostilities with ourselves once in six years. But the expenses of renewing, thus often, our treaties with that regency, may be willingly incurred, when the commercial profits of the Mediterranean are taken into view. Of one and the other, Mr. Barlow has given estimates, which, with his observations on the commerce of that part of the world, manifest much information, and that good sense for which he is distinguished.

Mr. Barlow describes the policy and utility of forming commercial and friendly relations with the Italian States; with Austria, on account of her great trading port of Trieste; and with the grand Seignior. Colonel Humphreys, concurring in these ideas (so far as respects the grand Seignior, he has formerly expressed the same), strongly recommends Mr. Barlow as the fittest person for the negotiator, particularly

with the Turk, under the countenance of France; Mr. B. being a French as well as an American citizen. Mr. Barlow would cheerfully engage in these enterprises; and I am now inclined to think it would not be easy to find another person equally qualified for these negotiations.*

As these matters do not demand an immediate decision, I imagined it would be acceptable to you to receive this general account of the contents of the despatches from Colonel Humphreys, and that the perusal of these would be more agreeable to you on your return to Philadelphia.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

P. S. Colonel Talbot expected to sail yesterday, or the day before, for the West Indies.

FROM COUNT SÉGUR.†

Paris, 4 August, Thermidor the 17th, 1796,
the 4th year of the Republic.

SIR,

I hope that your Excellency will permit me to remember myself to you. You have so much accustomed my relations and myself to your kindnesses, that I do not fear to be troublesome in begging of you to be so kind as to forward the inclosed letter to M.

* Joel Barlow was appointed Consul-General "for the city and Kingdom of Algiers," on the 3d of January, 1797.

† Count Ségur came to the United States and joined the French army after the capitulation of Yorktown, and was Colonel of a regiment. He returned to France with the army, in 1783, and was appointed Ambassador to the Court of Russia, two years afterwards.

Lafayette,* my nephew. You are his second father, and I hope this motive will make you forgive the liberty, which I take, to put under your 'direction the letter which I write to him.

I have received, by an indirect way, some news of his unfortunate father.† His health is better, but his captivity does not soften at all, and his wife cannot obtain any thing from the Emperor. The passions, which weaken and wear themselves out here, begin to let more than one influential person feel, that it should be shameful to make peace without obtaining from the Court of Vienna the liberation of the Frenchmen arrested for the cause of liberty. But this happy disposition is not as yet sufficiently general or pronounced. All that I desire is, that it would be the wisdom, and interest of the American Government, which would determine the French Government to that measure. I know that my friend would doubly enjoy his liberty, if he owed it to you; and it appears to me that the moment is arrived, when the advice that I speak of, could be given to the Directory without compromising the Minister who would be intrusted with the commission.‡

I beg you would permit me, with your usual kindness, to assure you of the tender attachment, and of the profound respect,

With which I have the honor to be, &c.,

L. P. SÉGUR.

* George Washington Lafayette, who was then in the United States.

† At the time this letter was written, General Lafayette was in the prison of Olmutz.

‡ Washington had already written to the Emperor of Austria soliciting that Lafayette might be released, and permitted to come to the United States. See Washington's Writings, Vol. XI. p. 125.

FROM RUFUS KING.*

London, 12 November, 1796.

DEAR SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 25th of August; and Dr. Nicholl, upon advice I have asked, has been so obliging as to give me information respecting the manner in which the order of the Court of Chancery should be published. In a day or two, I will procure its insertion in the proper newspaper. Some little attention will be requisite to avoid, as far as practicable, the great expense which commonly attends this kind of publication. The newspapers containing the notification shall be transmitted to you, agreeably to your directions.

It is extremely difficult to form a satisfactory opinion respecting the probability of peace. I meet with few persons who appear to have much confidence in the success of Lord Malmesbury. The declaration of war by Spain, at a moment when England appeared to be making serious efforts to conclude a general peace, strengthens the belief of many that France prefers still to continue the war. All the internal movements of this Government that are visible, indicate a determination to prosecute the war with vigor. The funding of the floating debt earlier than usual, and at the commencement of the negotiation with France, when its influence upon the stocks is such as a measure so direct for the restoration of peace is calculated to produce, the augmentation of the militia by the addition of sixty thousand men, and the means employed to recruit the regular army,

* Rufus King was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Great Britain, on the 20th of May, 1796.

if peace is near, would seem to be improvident and unwise; but, if the war continues, twelve millions will have been funded on advantageous terms. The Government will have removed an important obstacle to the further use of their credit, and, by an increase of the internal strength of the nation, placed at their disposal the regular forces to be employed abroad.

France will bend all her energies against that commerce in which England finds such immense resources to prosecute the war, not by attacking her navy, not by attempting the threatened invasion, but by compelling the neighbouring nations to exclude the commerce of England from the great and profitable markets of Europe. England, in turn, will endeavour to balance the account by conquering or emancipating the Colonies of Spain and France, thereby opening new and extensive markets in another quarter of the globe. Should the war unfortunately still go on, the meditated expedition against Canada by the Mississippi may possibly be undertaken. I think it much less probable, since the evacuation of our frontier posts by the British forces. Though I cannot seriously believe that such an expedition will be attempted, still it may be the part of prudence to consider it as possible, in order to guard against its mischiefs.

Spain enumerates, among the injuries received from Great Britain, the treaty concluded with us; and France was satisfied neither with that treaty, nor with the subsequent one, that was concluded at a fortunate moment between us and Spain. Both may have been dissatisfied from motives connected with the project of an expedition through the Mississippi.

With perfect respect I have the honor to be, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

FROM HENRY KNOX.

Boston, 15 January, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR,

Possessing, as I do, a thousand evidences of your friendship, I am persuaded that you will readily believe me, when I say that my silence of late has been the effect of my unwillingness to intrude, lest I should for a moment prevent the consideration and different views you give to the important subjects incessantly before you.

Although the same cause continues to prevent my interruption, yet I am apprehensive sometimes that you may think me unmindful of your kindnesses, especially after the receipt of your affectionate letter by Mr. Bingham, the last summer. The loss of two lovely children, on which you condoled in that letter, has been recently revived and increased by the death of our son, of seven years of age, bearing your name. His health has always been delicate, having been born prematurely. We flattered ourselves that his constitution would mend with his years, but we have been disappointed. Unfortunate, indeed, have we been in the death of eight of our children, requiring the exercise of our whole stock of philosophy and religion. We find ourselves afflicted by an irresistible, but invisible power, to whom we must submit. But the conflict is almost too great for the inconsolable mother, who will go mourning to her grave.

We have lately come from St. George's to pass the winter in this town. Indeed, this is our general plan. We may, however, as we grow older, find it inconvenient. We are distant about two hundred miles by land, which we may easily ride in six days, the snow

being on the ground, or with wheels with a little improvement of a small portion of the road. The taverns on the route are as good as on any other two hundred miles on the Continent.

I am beginning to experience the good effects of my residence on my lands. I may truly say that the estate is more than double in its value, since I determined to make it my home. The only inconvenience we experience, is the want of society. This will probably lessen daily. Our communication by water to this town is constant and cheap. We can obtain the transportation of any article from this town to St. George's, cheaper than the same can be carted from any store to the vessel. This egotism would require an apology to any other person than yourself.

For your own sake, I rejoice at the near approach of your retirement. In it, I pray God that you may enjoy all the felicity, of which the human condition is susceptible. The consciousness of having acted well, would, under any circumstances, have elevated your soul above the peltings of storms raised by malice and envy. But in addition to this consciousness, the consecration of your retirement by the unlimited gratitude of your country, must present, in the decline of your life, the most perfect reward.

I flatter myself, before you leave the helm, you will have dissipated the clouds raised by the causeless jealousy of the French Administration. If not, we must appeal from them, mad and drunk with power as they may be, to the time when they shall have recovered their senses. We have not injured them, but have only taken those due precautions, which our own happiness required. If they madly continue to war against our innocent and rightful commerce, we must make an account thereof, and

look for compensation through all the events of ages, and we shall assuredly find it at some period or other, with full interest. But I hope we shall not, under any circumstances, at present, attempt reprisals. Their fit of insanity cannot last long. St. Domingo is, and will be in the course of this winter, the victim of the villany of its Administration. The whites will either be starved or murdered by the blacks.

It cannot be expected that there will be any danger of the French attempting an invasion of our country. But if they should, we must resist. And this appears to be the only case in which we should suffer ourselves to be dragged into the war. What an eventful winter this will be at Paris! Especially, if the army of Italy should be arrested, or defeated, in addition to the retreat of the two armies of Jourdan and Moreau, from Germany. From information generally circulating here, and particularly from , who has the last autumn arrived from France, in which he resided for several years, no doubt rests in my mind, but the measures of the French Administration towards this country, have been excited by the Americans in Paris, in consequence of letters received from persons of the same opinions in the United States.

I had not intended to intermix any politics in this letter, which I meant solely as the recognition of a grateful heart. But they have thrust themselves in unawares. Mrs. Knox unites with me in presenting our respectful and affectionate attachments to you and Mrs. Washington. And I am, &c.,

HENRY KNOX.

FROM ROBERT FULTON.

London, 5 February, 1797.

SIR,

Last evening Mr. King presented me with your letter, acquainting me of the receipt of my publication on Small Canals, which I hope you will soon have time to peruse in a tranquil retirement from the busy operations of a public life. Therefore, looking forward to that period, when the whole force of your mind will act upon the internal improvement of our country, by promoting agriculture and manufactures, I have little doubt but easy conveyance, the great agent to other improvements, will have its due weight, and meet your patronage.

For the mode of giving easy communication to every part of the American States, I beg leave to draw your particular attention to the last chapter, on creative canals; and the expanded mind will trace down the time when they will penetrate into every district, carrying with them the means of facilitating manual labor and rendering it productive. But how to raise a sum in the different States, has been my greatest difficulty. I first considered them as national works. But, perhaps, an incorporated company of subscribers, who should be bound to apply half, or a part, of their profits to extension, would be the best mode; as it would then be their interest to promote the work, and guard their emoluments.

That such a work would answer to subscribers, appears from such information as I have collected relative to the carriage from the neighbourhood of Lancaster to Philadelphia. To me it appears, that a canal on the small scale might have been made

to Lancaster for one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and that the carriage, at twenty shillings per ton, would pay fourteen thousand per annum, of which, seven thousand to subscribers, and seven thousand to extension. By this means, in about ten years, they would touch the Susquehanna, and the trade would then so much increase as to produce thirty thousand per annum, of which, fifteen thousand to subscribers, the remainder to extension; continuing thus, till, in about twenty years, the canal would run into Lake Erie, yielding a produce of one hundred thousand per annum, or fifty thousand pounds to subscribers, which is forty per cent. Hence the inducement to subscribe to such undertakings.

Proceeding in this manner, I find that, in about sixty or seventy years, Pennsylvania would have nine thousand three hundred and sixty miles of canal, equal to bringing water-carriage within the easy reach of every house; nor would any house be more than ten or fourteen miles from a canal. By this time the whole carriage of the country would come on water, even to passengers; and, following the present rate of carriage on the Lancaster road, it appears that the tolls would amount to four million per year; yet no one would pay more than twenty-one shillings and threepence per ton, whatever might be the distance conveyed; the whole would also be a canal in which there is an equal facility of conveyance each way. Having made this calculation to show that the creative system would be productive of great emolument to subscribers, it is only further to be observed, that if each State was to commence a creative system, it would fill the whole country, and, in less than a century, bring water-carriage within the easy cartage of every acre of the American

States, conveying the surplus labors of one hundred millions of men.

Hence, seeing that, by system, this must be the result, I feel anxious that the public mind may be awakened to their true interest; and, instead of directing turnpike roads towards the interior country, or expending large sums in river navigations, which must ever be precarious and bad, I could wish to see the labor and funds applied to such a system as would penetrate the interior country, and bind the whole in the bonds of social intercourse.

The importance of this subject, I hope, will plead my excuse for troubling you with so long a letter; and in expectation of being favored with your thoughts on the system, and mode of carrying it into effect,

I remain, &c.,

ROBERT FULTON.

FROM RUFUS KING.

London, 6 February, 1797.

SIR,

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 22d of December. Count Rumford being in Bavaria, I have requested the Minister of that country at this Court to forward your letter to the Count with his next despatch. I have delivered to Mr. Fulton the letter for him, and, as soon as Sir John Sinelair returns to town, I will also deliver the letter addressed to him. I have before sent two copies of the Gazette, containing the publication of the Chancery order that you inclosed to me for that purpose. By this opportunity I transmit a third.

Our affairs here, relative to the execution of the

treaty, are in a good train. Some delays and difficulties have existed, but they exist no longer, and the Commissioners are going on in a satisfactory manner. In the conferences that I have had with this Government, upon these and other topics, I have found them candid and impartial, in as great a degree as I had expected. Several important points, not settled by the treaty, still remain open, and both time and patience are requisite, even now, to form a safe opinion, how far we shall in the end, be able to agree. I think I am not deceived in supposing, that a sincere and general desire exists in this country to live in harmony and friendship with us. This disposition is, however, fettered and enfeebled by prejudices, and opinions connected with the national commerce and marine, which make the Government slow and cautious in every step which has a reference to these important concerns.

Some uneasiness has been manifest here for some few weeks past, concerning the situation of the British territories in the East Indies. It is not very easy to obtain good information upon this subject, but there is reason to believe, that much disaffection exists among the native troops in the Company's service. The establishment is understood to be twenty thousand Europeans, and sixty thousand native or black troops. Whatever the origin of these discontents may have been (and they are supposed to be of several years' standing), they have lately risen to such a pitch, that the Local Government of India has been compelled first to temporize, and then, as is commonly the consequence, to submit to measures they were unable to prevent. Lord Cornwallis is suddenly to be sent to Bengal, and with such extensive powers as, it is hoped, will enable him to restore

tranquillity. What may be his success, my want of accurate information forbids me to conjecture.

From the continent, as a balance to the glory acquired by the Arch Duke, we have just received the accounts of the astonishing victories lately gained by Bonaparte in Lombardy. The immediate consequences must be the fall of Mantua, and the easy subjugation of the South of Italy.

Whether these victories, or any recent information from America, have had any influence with the Directory, respecting the situation of General Pinckney, remains to be ascertained; but I have this morning been informed, by letters from Paris, that, on the 28th ultimo, the General was ordered by the Directory to leave Paris, and that he intended to depart on the 31st for Amsterdam.

With perfect respect, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

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